



THE
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For AUGUST 1792,

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P H I L A D E L P H I A, August 31, 1792.

Prices of stocks.

Exchange.

Six per cents,	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bills on London 90 days,	69
Deferred 6 per cents,	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	Do. do. 60	70
Three per cents,	12 $\frac{9}{10}$	Do. do. 30	72 $\frac{1}{2}$
Full shares bank U. S. 45 per cent. advance,		Bills on Amsterdam 60 days per guilder,	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bank N. A. 30 do.		Do. do. 90	2 $\frac{1}{11}$

Meteorological observations made in Philadelphia, July, 1792.

Days.	Barometer.		Thermom.		Anemometer.	Weather.
	English foot,		Farenheit.			
	sun rise.	at 2 P. M.	6 A. M.	2 P. M.		
	In. $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{4}$	In. $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{4}$	D. $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{4}$	D. $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{4}$	Prevailing wind.	
1	29 10 5	29 9 12	72 5	93 9	Variable.	fair, tornado,
2	29 9 11	29 10 4	72 5	95	WSW	fair,
3	30 5	30 2	73 6	72 5	ESE	overcast, rainy,
4	29 10 11	29 10 11	72 5	63 5	NE	rainy,
5	30 12	30 1 3	54 5	70 2	N	fair,
6	30 2 13	30 2 6	59	79 2	N	idem,
7	30 2 6	30 1	63 5	80	Variable	cloudy,
8	30 2	29 10 7	64 2	81 5	SW	overcast,
9	29 9 4	29 9	70 2	88 2	SW	cloudy, thunder,
10	29 9 14	29 11 7	71 4	91 6	WSW	fair,
11	30 1 2	30 1	70 2	88 2	W.ENE	idem,
12	30 14	29 11 6	68	87	SW	cloudy,
13	29 11 6	29 11 3	69	85	SW	idem,
14	30 1	30 1	65 3	89	Variable.	overcast,
15	30 1	30 6	64 8	88 7	W	fair,
16	29 17 12	29 10 7	72 5	91 6	SW	rainy, fair,
17	29 9 13	29 10	70 2	82 6	SW	idem, overcast,
18	29 11 7	29 11 7	63 5	83 7	Variable.	fair,
19	29 11 12	29 9 5	65 7	87 3	NE	idem, foggy,
20	29 8 11	29 9 3	68	87	NW	idem,
21	29 10 3	29 10 12	68	73 6	NE.NW	rainy, cloudy,
22	29 11 9	30 10	63 5	80 4	NE.SSW	cloudy,
23	30 7	30 6	65 7	67	SSE.NE	rainy,
24	29 11 3	29 11 3	61 2	63 5	NE	idem, overcast,
25	30	30 11	60	72 5	NW	cloudy,
26	30 2 2	30 2 3	59	81 5	WNW	fair,
27	30 1 14	30 1	63 5	82 6	WSW	idem, overcast,
28	30 10	30 6	65 7	82 6	E	rainy,
29	30	29 11 15	61 2	65 7	E	idem,
30	29 11 10	29 10 14	62 4	70 2	NE	fair,
31	29 11	29 10 4	61 2	82 6	SW	foggy, fair,
RECAP.	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Wind and weather.	
	6th gr. ele.	30 2 13	2d gr. d. of heat,	95		
	20th le. el.	29 8 11	5th l. d. of heat,	54 5		
	Variation,	6 2	Variation,	40 5	SW and NE.	
	Mean ele.	29 11 9	Mean degree,	73 4	fair and rainy,	

Of the indigenous inhabitants of both parts of America. By don Ulloa.

Continued from page 33.

THE Indians of South America distinguish themselves by modern dresses, in which they affect various tastes. Those of the high country, and of the vallies in Peru, dress partly in the Spanish fashion. Instead of hats, they wear bonnets of coarse double cloth, the weight of which, neither seems to incommode them, when they go to warmer climates; nor does the accidental want of them seem to be felt in situations where the most piercing cold reigns.

Their legs and feet are always bare, if we except a sort of sandals made of the skins of oxen. These emit a most abominable

finell, as often as they are wet upon their feet; and, to complete this disagreeable circumstance, they never put them off, but wear them night and day, as long as they can hold together: an evidence, among many others, that might be produced, of their disregard to cleanliness, and insensibility to things altogether disgusting to other men.

The Indians are naturally addicted to intoxication, and prefer always the strongest liquors they can procure. It is not many years since those of Peru made use of *chica* as their common beverage. But the interest of certain proprietors of vineyards, in the low country, especially in the vallies of Ica, Pisca, and Nasca, has of late introduced the use of brandy; the destructive influence of which, is already very visible. The same propensity is remarked in the savage nations to the north, as far as the Europeans have ever penetrated. These have been accustomed to that pernicious indulgence both by the British colonies in New England, and by the French in Louisiana and Canada. But it is an indulgence which has already greatly lessened the population of those regions.

Their passion, however, for this bewitching poison, is so great, that, to procure it they will attempt the most difficult enterprises, and perpetrate the most horrible crimes. It has been known more than once in Louisiana, that an Indian, seemingly of the most mild and faithful temper, has basely murdered his master, either on a journey or a hunting party, merely to get possession of his flask of brandy. He has waited for this purpose till sleep gave him an opportunity to strike the perfidious blow, and the empty flask has been found by the side of the dead body.

It is very common, in the higher parts of Peru, to see upon the highways the bodies of Indians who have died of intoxication. Unable to proceed farther, they lie down in their drunkenness, the rigour of atmosphere benumbs them, and there they remain. But these warnings have no effect on others. At Quito, the wives do not partake in this vice of their husbands, but only attend them for the sake of giving them their assistance. At Peru, on the contrary, the women drink to equal excess with the men, and thereby prevent the possibility of mutual assistance. The most shocking circumstance of all is, that they will take their very infants from the breast, and pour these poisonous liquors down their throats, thus training them to habits of drunkenness before they have arrived at the use of reason.

These enormities take place at Guancavelica, Potosi, and the other considerable mines, to a greater degree than any other place. The custom there, is to pay all the workmen, except those called *Mitagos*, their week's earnings every Sunday afternoon, at four or five o'clock. At Guancavelica, these payments amount to about the sum of ten thousand pesos: of this sum, four thousand pesos are commonly expended before the next morning, in brandy and other spiritous liquors; of consequence, little work is done the subsequent day. It is seldom, indeed, that they reserve any money for the expenses of the remaining part of the week.

It is certainly desirable that some measures could be taken to check the progress of this destructive habit. The decrease of population, which it must inevitably produce, will soon be an essential loss to the kingdom. The unhappy persons addicted to it, are those

by whom all the work of the mines must be performed, all the business of pasturage, in a word, all the subordinate employments of life.

It is shocking to see the manner in which the Sunday is profaned, in consequence of this propensity to drunkenness. Instead of being a day devoted to peace and religious observances, it is the day, in which all the disorders that human passions can produce, are seen in their utmost enormity. But though we cannot forbear to lament, it is not easy to devise a remedy for this abuse. The love of spiritous liquors has become the ruling passion of all the Indian nations. In all treaties with them, rum or brandy are the principal objects, without which no negotiation can succeed. They call them the milk of their friends.

The Indians are not so much to be dreaded for their valour, as for their perfidious and secret strokes of enmity. Nothing can exceed their cruelty, when they have been successful in surprising their enemies; in this case they glut themselves with cool and deliberate carnage. On the other hand, they are equally suppliant and pusillanimous, when the issue of their enterprise has been unfortunate. This contrast results naturally from the barbarous and ungenerous character by which the whole race is so unfavourably distinguished.

What the historians of the conquest of Mexico tell us of the heroism of the Indians, must either be much exaggerated, or else the character of the nation is excessively changed since that era. It is certain that the northern tribes enjoy the same liberty as ever, and that no circumstance has happened to make any change in their customs or manners. Yet the same cruel and perfidious character prevails among them, as among those of Peru and the southern parts of America, whether conquered or free.

It is impossible to ascribe this character of the Indians in Peru to their having changed an internal for a foreign slavery, or to any of the circumstances that have resulted from this change. Having neither changed their language, their customs, nor their inclinations, the basis of their character is certainly unaltered, especially as it is undeniable, that they have taken nothing of the manners of the nation that conquered them. Besides, they are by no means in that state of subjection which strangers are apt to imagine. In fact, their freedom is very little abridged; and their various tribes are governed much as formerly, by their respective curacas, or caciques. But the most decisive circumstance is the uniform character that prevails among them all, whether living independent or in subjection to Europeans.

There is no instance, either of a single Indian facing an individual of any other nation, in fair and open combat, or of their jointly venturing to try the fate of battle with an equal number of any foes. Even with the greatest superiority of numbers, they dare not meet an open attack. Yet notwithstanding this want of courage, they are still formidable; nay, it has been known, that a small party of them has routed a much superior body of regular troops: but this can only happen when they have surprised them in the fastnesses of their forests, where the covert of the wood may conceal them until they take their aim with the utmost certainty. After one such discharge, they immediately retreat, without leav-

ing the smallest trace of their route. It may easily be supposed, that an onset of this kind, must produce confusion even among the steadiest troops, when they can neither know the number of their enemies, nor perceive the place where they lie in ambush.

The Indians are exceedingly artful and accomplished in this species of war. They care not how long they may be obliged to lie in ambush, provided they can insure the advantage which they propose in making a near and certain discharge upon their enemies. They carry on stratagems of this kind with the utmost patience, address, and circumspection; sometimes they conceal themselves in thickets; at other times, they lie flat on the ground in such a manner that it is impossible to observe them.

The Indians of the country called Natches, in Louisiana, laid a plot of massacreing in one night every individual belonging to the French colony established there. This plot they actually executed, notwithstanding the seeming good understanding that subsisted between them and their European neighbours. Such was the secrecy which they observed, that no person had the least suspicion of their design until the blow was struck. One Frenchman alone escaped, by favour of the darkness, to relate the disaster of his countrymen. The compassion of a female Indian contributed also in some measure to his exemption from the general massacre. The tribe of Natches had invited the Indians of other countries, even to a considerable distance, to join in the same conspiracy. The day, or rather the night, was fixed, on which they were to make an united attack on the French colonists. It was intimated by sending a parcel of rods, more or less numerous, according to the local distance of each tribe, with an injunction to abstract one rod daily, the day on which the last fell to be taken away, being that fixed for the execution of their plan. The women were partners of the bloody secret. The parcels of rods being thus distributed, that belonging to the tribe of Natches happened to remain in the custody of a female. This woman, either moved by her own feelings of compassion, or by the commiseration expressed by her female acquaintances, in the view of the proposed scene of bloodshed, abstracted one day three or four of the rods, and thus anticipated the term of her tribe's proceeding to the execution of the general conspiracy. The consequences of this was, that the Natches were the only actors in the carnage, their distant associates having still several rods remaining at the time when the former made the attack. An opportunity was thereby given to the colonists in those quarters, to take measures for their defence, and for preventing a more extensive execution of the design.

(To be continued.) *h. 148*

IMPORTANT CAUTION.

THERE is a practice common with a certain set of men, which ought to be exposed, because it is intended for the purposes of imposition and dishonesty. What is here alluded to, is the trick of publishing extracts from fictitious letters, tending to affect the price of the produce of this country, and especially that of wheat, to the great detriment and discouragement of the honest and laborious farmer, and the enolument of a gang of speculators.

Those concerned ought be apprized of this, and put on their guard against the treachery and abuse.

When you see an extract of a letter, dated at Falmouth, or any where else, setting forth that the market of Lisbon (or any other market) is glutted with wheat—that there are no less than *sixty* cargoes at one time unloading—that there are, besides, above 100,000 moys of wheat (which are equal to 2,400,000 bushels!) which will have no sale for *twelve months* to come: be assured that this important piece of intelligence is the ingenious production of speculative device.

Let the farmer have a little patience and resolution, and he will assuredly triumph in the defeat of the little deceptive stratagems of the pack.

A LOVER OF HIS COUNTRY.

Baltimore, August 13, 1792.

An interesting constitutional and legal question.

Philadelphia, Aug. 13, 1792.

ON Friday and Saturday last, an interesting point was discussed in the supreme court of the united states. The attorney general, in his official capacity, and of his own mere motion, applied for a mandamus to the circuit courts of Pennsylvania, to proceed under the pension law, passed at the last session of congress.

That law, it will be remembered, imposes certain duties on the federal judges, which the circuit courts of Pennsylvania and New York judged unconstitutional, and which the first entirely refused to execute.

The first question that arose, was independent of the main question, viz. Whether it was part of the duty of the attorney general of the united states, to superintend the decisions of the inferior courts, and if to him they appeared improper, to move the supreme court for a revision.

Opinions were much divided.

In favour of the attorney general's exercising this power, the following are the heads of the principal arguments insisted on—the analogy between the nature of that office here and in England—that part of the judiciary act which gives the attorney general a superintendence over the concerns of the united states in the courts of justice, which, giving latitude to the word *concerns*, brought the case within the power granted by the law; and the attorney general being the only officer of the supreme executive to whom the constitution gives a superintendence over the execution of all the laws of the union.

Against this opinion, it was alleged, that the analogy drawn was not sound, but rather dangerous; that the latitude given to the word *concerns*, would tend to give that officer a right, officially, to interfere in any law controversy between citizen and citizen, as the united states were concerned in seeing justice done in every case; and that as the act of the attorney general was not within his ordinary duty, it would require special authority from the supreme executive, to establish its propriety.

These were the principal heads of the arguments used. The discussion was full, and the bench divided on the question. Judges

Iredell, Johnson, and Blair, declaring in favour of the attorney general, and judges Wilton, Cushing, and the chief justice, entertaining the contrary opinion.

This equal division was sufficient to reject the mode of proceeding *lar.* Randolph first adopted, who then started on another ground, as counsel for a petitioner who had been unsuccessful in his application to the district court of Pennsylvania.

His motion, after being accompanied with the reasons which influenced him to believe that the inferior courts had erred, was postponed for a final decision until the next court.

S P E C U L A T I O N.

ONE fact will outweigh in the public opinion a thousand declamations. It is asserted, but with a colouring that renders the assertion at least suspicious, that "all who have become rich, in the united states, for several late years, are speculators; and that to raise these harpies to wealth and eminence, the industrious merchant has been oppressed with the most grievous burdens—burdens which must operate his ruin." This is assertion without proof. For a short time, it must be allowed, owing to the madness, or something worse, of a few desperate individuals, speculation assumed a glare, that astonished, and, in many instances, captivated the beholder.

At length, however, like the unstable glitter of a meteor, it dissipated, and so far were its votaries from having acquired "immense fortunes" thereby—that it left them—in prison, in poverty, or in exile. On the other hand, in all the bankruptcies of the last year, hardly one in the mercantile line is to be traced; and from the great increase of the shipping—the advancement of commercial and manufacturing institutions—and every mechanical business—and from the general happiness which pervades every part of the union—we may venture to assert, nor fear a contradiction, that success has abundantly crowned every effort of commercial enterprise and industry—and that our merchants universally are seeing good days according to the days wherein they have seen evil. And well do the merchants deserve this prosperity, and an increase of it. Their patriotism has been immortalized by our beloved president: and they must enjoy the pleasing satisfaction, that they have been greatly instrumental in advancing their country to a height of prosperity, reputation, and felicity, unexampled in her annals.

That these are facts, is visible to every man who wishes to see them so.—And they shall be told to the world, as long as they continue to be such.

Boston, Aug. 12, 1792.

A P H E N O M E N O N.

THERE is now living in this city, a man in the 100th year of his age. He was born on Long-Island, in the vicinity of New-York; followed privateering in queen Anne's wars: and through the whole of his long life is said to have enjoyed an uninterrupted share of health; and at this day walks abroad with less appearance of infirmity, than the generality of men of 70 or 75 years of age. Mr. Peale, we hear, is engaged to take a painting of this extraordinary man, to preserve to future times the features and form of a person furnished with nerves and constitution to exist to so surprising an age, on that ocean of time, which has long ago swallowed up so many millions of his contemporaries.

Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1790.

FOR THE AMERICAN MUSEUM

Reflexions on the state of the union.

NUMBER V.

Concerning the foreign debts of the united states.

AT the commencement of the present government in 1789, the united states were indebted to France, Holland and Spain, and to the foreign officers of the late army, in a sum amounting to near twelve millions of dollars. Near a million and two thirds of this sum, was due for arrears of interest, inattention to which, would have been too disgraceful to have admitted of a hope of public credit, until measures were taken for its discharge. Above a million and one third of the principal sum had become due, and the time of other installments was coming round. The resources of the country had been examined and considered, but not tried. The claims of these foreign creditors, were, originally, the most delicate in themselves; and in the case of France, the state of her revolution in the summer of 1790, placed her demand in a situation peculiarly interesting. It was perceived that the adoption of the federal constitution and the measures taken to restore public credit, had made strong and favourable impressions on the European money lenders: and it was not doubted, that the arrears of interest and the principal due, might be discharged by loans, upon terms which would produce very little loss. The requisite authorities were given by the legislature, which resulted in the borrowing of a sum equal to the discharge of all the exigible debt. But as the occasions of the French were likely to be emergent, and there was reason to confide, that a firm and steady pursuit of the financial system, which had by that time been adopted, and an adherence to the upright spirit of the constitution, would rapidly meliorate the credit of the united states, it was deemed expedient to extend the authorities to borrow, to a sum equal to the whole of the foreign debt, provided the installments not due could be discharged by means of loans advantageous to the united states. The interest of above seven millions of the foreign debt, being at the rate of five per cent. per annum; it was not doubted, that the money might be obtained so as to render the discharge of the part, not exigible, really advantageous. It has accordingly happened, that a sum adequate to the principal and interest due, has been borrowed within the terms of the law, so as to support the credit and good faith of the united states, and critically to accommodate the people of France. The further expectations of congress have also been fulfilled; a considerable loan at four and one half, and two loans at four per cent. having been effected, so as to realize an advantage in the discharge of a large part of the principal, which was at an interest of five per cent. The united states having thus commuted their foreign debt, further than is due, with honour, and, on a medium of the whole, with advantage, are relieved by these operations from any possibility of pressure to perform the remainder of their European engagements. The friends of our public credit, of our national safety and respectability, and of the re-

volution of France, among the citizens of the united states, will reflect upon this actual course of events with cordial satisfaction.

The conclusion: being miscellaneous thoughts on the government.

The people of the united states enjoy a peculiar felicity in the possession of principles of government and of civil and religious liberty, more sound, more accurately defined, and more extensively reduced to practice, than any preceding republicans. There is not one iota of delegating or delegated power, which is not possessed, or may not be acquired by every citizen. It is true, that there are in practice, several deviations in the distribution of powers to the various subdivisions of the country, and to the proprietors of certain descriptions of property; but these are acknowledged departures from principle, and are known to have arisen out of the antecedent state of things. They could not be immediately corrected without violent struggles and disorders, and without injury to the property of descriptions of citizens, too great for the country at any former period to compensate. Mild remedies are, however, daily applied to these partial diseases; and it is manifest, that the course of time is diminishing, and will finally remove them. The right of legislative interposition, on the part of the chief magistrate, which, in the practice of another country, has been commuted for an unlawful and injurious influence, is here wrought into the essence of the constitution, and is not only exercised in the independent and uncontrolled consideration of every resolution and bill, but by the practical application of the negative.

The execution of the office of the chief magistrate has been attended through a term of almost four years with a circumstance, which to this nation and to the surrounding world requires no commentary—a native citizen of the united states, elevated from private life to that station, has not, during so long a term, appointed a single relation to any office of honour or emolument.

The senatorial branch of the government has been created and continued in a mode preferable to that which is pursued in any other nation.

The representative branch is equally well constituted.

The military code, for the government of such troops as are occasionally raised and employed, is well calculated to produce discipline and efficiency, when time is allowed for the purpose, and consequently to render the united states respectable in the eyes of foreign nations.

All christian churches are so truly upon an equal footing, as well in practice as in theory, that there are and have been in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the general government, persons of the following denominations—episcopalian, presbyterian, independent or congregational, quaker, Lutheran, reformed, Roman, and probably others, which do not occur. There have been, and indeed yet are, a few ecclesiastical distinctions in the state governments, which reason and time are rapidly destroying. It is easy to perceive, that religious liberty, supported by the national constitution, and a great majority of the state constitutions, cannot but attain, in a very short time, the same theoretical and practical perfection in the remainder, which it has acquired in them.

The independency of the judiciary, as well in the tenure of their stations as in the permanency of their compensations under the federal constitution, and most of those of the states, is an advantage over the ancient republics and the generality of modern governments, of inestimable value in regard to liberty and property.

The united states, being without transmarine or separated dominions, are exempted from two inconveniencies, which have resulted from them. An immense naval force has been found necessary to defend such territories, and protect the trade with them in time of war, and the difficulty of devising for them a free legislation, has hitherto proved insurmountable. The British nation declared, that they had a right to legislate for their colonies and dominions in America, Asia, and Africa, in all cases whatsoever, and the revolution of the united states, turned upon that cardinal point. When we observe, that the French nation, devoted as they are to the pursuit of liberty, have not yet been able to devise any system of government for their colonies without a *dernier resort* to the legislature of France, it will be a source of comfortable reflexion to the friends of free and efficient government in these states, that we are not perplexed by the necessity of so delicate, important, and difficult an operation.

It has been unfortunate for most nations, as well ancient as modern, that they have had no settled pre-existing mode of altering, amending, or renovating their political system, to which they could resort without a deviation from the legal course of things, hazarding the public tranquillity, and often freedom itself.—It is equally happy for the people of the united states, that in their federal government, and in most of those of the states, there exists a provision, by which those necessary and desirable ends may be obtained, with whatever zeal, without recurring to irregularity or violence. Fundamental principles being already settled by common consent, and being duly recorded in the constitutions, the people cannot long mistake the nature of a measure, a law, or a political maxim, which is really opposed to them; and when their judgment is decided upon any one or more derelictions of those principles, of magnitude sufficient to induce an effort for reform, their will cannot be successfully resisted. The consequence of this state of things will be, that the mass of error will not easily accumulate so as to become insupportable, being kept down by these orderly natural exertions of the community to relieve themselves at an earlier stage of inconvenience. Too great a facility to change would, however, be likely to produce fluctuations, injurious to order, peace, property, and industry, if not to liberty itself: but as the mode of performing the amendatory or alterative operations is slow, and consequently deliberate, light or dangerous changes would be very difficult to accomplish. In this view there appears to be very little probability, that changes from free or representative government, will take place, or that any modification of hereditary power will be introduced into the governments either of the states or of the union. The people will never deliberately consent to the abrogation of those clauses in the several constitutions, which explicitly provide both in general terms, and in particular detail, for free or republican government: nor does it seem easy, considering the de-

gree of perfection we have obtained and the constant and moderate operations of the amendatory clauses, to accumulate sufficient public evil or grievance to produce one of those convulsions, which the ambitious are wont to seize as the moment to introduce by force, a despotic government. Even local circumstances conspire to favour the permanency of liberty in these states. Being too remote from any foreign nation, to render a war, requiring a great army, at all necessary, that instrument, so often used by ambitious leaders, is not likely to be placed within the reach of the enemies of freedom, *while the union remains entire*. It is worthy of the most particular observation and remembrance, that a dissolution of our government would immediately open a door to this danger, as the several states or little confederacies, would each deem it prudent to maintain a larger army than is now requisite for the whole. The history of Greece will instruct us that by this, more than by any other possible measure, we should be prepared for the military domination of some modern PHILIP, or some new ALEXANDER. *A strong union and a tranquil liberty would be miserably exchanged for such a state of things.*

It is an evident truth that the penal laws of these states, have been gradually mitigated since the epocha of their independence; and it is no less true, that the number of crimes does not bear so great a proportion to the population, as was formerly the case, though an universal relaxation of the police took place in the late war. It is, perhaps, an ill symptom of the state of things, in a society, when *mild laws, strictly executed*, are incompetent to the preservation of order and public happiness. Our penal codes are, upon the whole, among the least sanguinary; and it is believed, they are not cruel, even in those unhappy cases, which impel the community to extremities. The constitution of the united states has extracted all the gall from the punishment of offences against the national safety, by correcting the power of legislating concerning them with a mildness unknown to the systems of most countries. It is honourable to the humanity and magnanimity of the American people, that this proceeding flowed from them, almost unanimously, four years after the revolution war. Future ages will do justice to a nation capable of such an effort at a moment so particular.

Taking the united states at large, there are few or no countries in which, at this time, the just demands of private creditors can be obtained by a more certain, a more expeditious, or a less expensive course of legal process. There are some local, and a very few general defects yet existing; but they are vanishing before the spirit of the general and most of the state constitutions. There is no part of the public conduct of this country more striking than the firmness with which they have applied the caustic to some inveterate cancers, which had been derived to their pecuniary system, principally from adventitious causes. It proves the existence of that virtue and fortitude, which qualify a nation for republican government. There are some exceptionable circumstances, yet to be done away; but the successful efforts, which have been made, justify a confident expectation, that they will yield ere long to the powers and influences which have eradicated much greater evils of the same kind.

Letters to a young lady. By the reverend John Bennet.

LETTER IV.—*On Gibbon.*

GIBBON is splendid, elaborate, elegant. To me, however, he is not always perspicuous. I am sometimes obliged to pause to discover his meaning. This arises from his having studied an uniform, condensed harmony of period, or attempting to graft the peculiarities of Tacitus, on the English idiom. He is, however, on the whole, a captivating writer; and I would not forbid you the pleasure of perusing his interesting work. You may admire his language without imbibing his infidelity. It is, indeed, so artfully concealed under beds of roses, that, if you had not heard so much about it, you would not easily have discovered the venom of his pen.

What could induce this splendid historian so insidiously to attempt the undermining of christianity, which is the greatest balm and sweetener of life? What are his rounded periods, if they have a tendency to rob the world of its sublimest prospects, and of all its supporting hopes? What will the fame of talents avail him, if he has done his utmost to circulate infidelity, as widely as his writings, and strew his paths, in every place through which he has passed, with heaps of the murdered?

It is amazing that authors do not, more frequently, look forward to the moment, when, to have made a noise in the world, by singular opinions, will convey no joy or comfort to the heart; and when the only consolation must be, that they have laboured to promote the glory of God, and the benefit of man.

I would not for the richest mitre in the kingdom, be a Gibbon, in my latest moments. In health and prosperity, we may be dazzled with tinsel. But when we come to die, every thing will vanish, but piety and truth.

Immoral writers may do the greatest mischief to society, of any other characters whatever. They may corrupt and taint the morals of the most distant posterity. In this sense, they may for a long time, continue to be sinning, when their bodies are entombed. Their sentiments may convey a deadly poison, to operate on many generations yet unborn. And what reparation or atonement can they make for unhinged principle, for violated integrity, and undermined hope! The Romish church has a very striking doctrine, that such people continue in purgatory the longest of all others.

I bless God, that I never wrote a line, however feeble, but with a good intention. And may this pen drop from my hands, before it ever leads me to finish a period, that shall give me one uncomfortable thought, or one feeling of remorse, in my expiring moments.

LETTER V.—*On Richardson.*

MY DEAR LUCY,

THOUGH, from principle, a declaimer against novels, yet of one writer, who goes under this name, I profess myself a passionate admirer. I mean Richardson. His works, indeed, are not to be examined by the strict laws of a fastidious criticism.

They have many *luxuriancies*, and too much *prolixity*. The language is natural and easy, but it is not *condensed* into the elegant conciseness and energy of the ancients. Richardson was a stranger to the inimitable models of Greece and Rome. He was not a classic; but he possessed a most extensive knowledge of human life and manners; his judgment was strong and penetrating; his taste, accurate; his sensibility, exquisite; his imagination, wonderful; and his heart impassioned. Master of the human character, he knew all its *meandrings*. Master of the human soul, he penetrated into all its foldings and recesses.

With the same breath, and in the same moment, he melts, he transports, he elevates, he dignifies, he convinces, and instructs. Pathos is all his own. "He opens the hardest rocks by the mere force of his narrative, and the waters flow."

Richardson was, indeed, a writer of no trifling magnitude. He was a genius of no ordinary kind. Degrade this *ethereal* spirit as you will, it will mount up to its kindred skies. Call him a novelist, his merit rises above names and forms. These cannot debase his talents. Handle this substance, as roughly as you please, it returns with an elastic vigour, to its usual shape, and defies opposition.

But the excellency of his intention is above all praise. The interests of virtue and religion were near his heart; and he chose the epistolary plan merely to engage the attention of his readers, and that imagination might lend its liveliest charms to animate his precepts.

What a pattern of all virtues and graces is his Grandison! What a lovely and finished girl is his Harriet Byron! What an unruffled piety! What a melting affection! What filial duty to her aged grandmother! What a kind sympathy with all her friends! What sensibility, yet what prudence! What tenderness, yet what discretion appear in her character! How nicely is her seriousness mixed with vivacity, her fine sense with modesty, and her frankness with decorum! How fondly does she love, yet how delicately does she manage and regulate the flame!

When she pined in secret, with an unconquerable attachment, what cheerfulness to all her friends burst through the heavy gloom, that lowered on her mind! What fear of giving any pain to others, thought comfortless herself! What veneration did she express for the unhappy Clementina! What a generous concern for the innocent, girlish emotions of Emily! What an unaffected friendship for the lively lady G—, and when she was really addressed by her Grandison, with what an open frankness, yet what a guarded delicacy and involuntary confusion, did she tell him, that he had the full possession of her soul!

How venerable and engaging has this writer made the character of a clergyman, in the case of Dr. Bartlett! How judiciously has he mixed the pastor with the friend, and combined the most rigid principles, with the softest and most attractive graces. What innocence, integrity, and what prudence and caution about interfering in family concerns, has he given in another work, to Dr. Lewen! What an independent spirit, likewise; what a leaning to the side of the unfortunate Clarissa, in opposition to all the greatest of her friends; what a glowing, universal benevolence; what a serene and undissembled piety! And how strikingly has he contrast-

ed both with the cunning hypocrisy and pedantic affectation of another person, who likewise wore, without really deserving, so sacred a garb!

In opposition to modern customs, which, under a false idea of greatness, would trample on sacred ceremonies, and bring the holy ordinances of religion, to their own fire-sides, in a manner, which divests them of all solemnity and decorum, what an invincible attachment does his Grandison display to all the *decencies* and duties of the church! What a reluctance does he express against having his marriage *defecrated* by a private celebration; and how does he oblige his timid and his blushing Harriet to vow at the altar, in the presence of God, and in the face of day, her obedience and her affection! In fact, these outward decencies are the very fences of piety. Break them down, and the sacred enclosure will soon become "common and unclean."

If, in short, I wished a girl to be every thing, that was great, I would have her continually study his Clarissa. If I was ambitious to make her every thing that was lovely, she should spend her days and nights, in contemplating his Byron.

I must, however, confess a strong preference for the work of sir Charles Grandison. The reading of Clarissa leaves upon the mind too melancholy impressions. Her distresses are too deep and too unvaried for sensibility to bear. She was every thing, that was virtuous, and we look up with admiration. She was every thing that was miserable, and we look down with despair. We are tempted to fancy, that "there is no reward for the righteous, nor any God that judgeth the earth."

There is a certain point, beyond which our passions will not bear to be racked. Beyond it even sympathy, the loveliest of them all, turns into the wildness of despair. Virtue may have its sorrows and its trials; but they should not be perpetual. Hope would cease to bloom, and the year become intolerable, if it was wholly composed of a dull and dreary winter, without a spring. If providence did not, generally, interfere in favour of its saints, religion, I should suspect, would soon lose one of its strongest encouragements, and most sovereign supports.

Miss Byron is always lovely, and always enchanting. Her virtues are more within the reach of mortality. Her afflictions are less poignant; and when her long attachment is crowned with success, every good mind feels a pleasure, too big for expression. We are happy for Clarissa, only when she is dead. We are very agreeably interested for miss Byron, through every period of her life; and lady Grandison charms us into congratulating triumph.

(To be continued.)

ON THE DRESSES OF THE JUDGES.

HAVING by accident chanced the other day to walk by the court house, and observing a croud at the door, I was tempted to enter for an instant, to see what was the object of attention; when I was surprised, at my going in, to behold upon the judicial seats, six gentlemen, arrayed in a robe as unsuitable to the season, as it was new in point of fashion. I was for some time at a loss to disco-

ver the kind of dress they had on, till, on a nearer approach, I found it to be of scarlet trimmed with ermine. Such a dress in August was truly surprising; for in point of convenience, it must be extremely oppressive, and in point of show or appearance, it certainly is much less solemn and decorous than the black coats, till lately always observed on those seats.

This dress, I have been told, is borrowed from a country we are but too ambitious to copy, though we were lately so fond of disdaining. I am sorry our judges should have imitated an example originating, probably, in barbarous times, and probably preserved in England only on account of its antiquity. But if our judicial concerns could not be carried on without a decoration so extraordinary, why not take the whole of it? The wig of long tails and curls, as well as the gown?—for the tout ensemble ought to have gone together, if taken at all; the effect being now to give a very small appearance to the head, compared to the ermined shoulders; and this effect is such, as to destroy totally whatever solemnity might have been conceived to reside formerly in this *toga judicis*.

But is it, indeed, in this enlightened age, in the eighteenth century, that we can expect dress to go for any thing in the popular estimation? Alas, as Mr. Burke observes, the age of chivalry is gone, and with it is departed that sanctity annexed to exterior vestments, which were so often so ill suited to their wearers. No, it is law, sound judgment, and impartial justice alone, that can dignify those seats: and these would have had their sway in the common dress...

“Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow;

“All else is nought but leather or prunella.”

So Pope thought formerly; nor is the doctrine lessened in repute by the prevailing tide of modern politics.

I would not be understood, by what I have said, in the least to wish to lessen the respect which I really feel for these gentlemen, and which is essential to the due execution of the laws. But seeing the constitution of the united States has not warranted any distinctions of dress, used in regal courts, to be adopted in our own; but on the contrary, forbids expressly by its spirit, the introduction of orders of nobility, so connected with distinctions of dress: seeing, also, our amiable president does not assume the royal robes at his levees, to which he has at least as much apparent right; I have not been able to forbear these strictures;—meaning always to oppose them to every novelty which appears to me calculated to alter the habits of our plain republican system.

Philadelphia, August 25, 1792.

RUSSEL.

A SAFE, EASY, AND CHEAP CURE.

A Broken winded horse had been kept in a field where there was not any water, except in the bottom of an old lime-kiln, and had recovered his wind; the owner ordered a stable shovel full of quick lime to be renewed every five or six days, and the water to be poured off, and a bucket of it to be given every day, to a broken-winded coach-horse, aged eighteen years, which had almost a constant cough. The horse was supplied with water thus prepared for about five weeks, and kept in the stable. He is now perfectly recovered in his wind, and free from a cough.

On the comparative excellence of the sciences and arts; by mr. William Roscoe. Read in the Manchester philosophical society. Continued from page 29.

THE science of mathematics is conversant with the extent and quantity of substances; and teaches the unchangeable and universal properties of visible objects. It therefore precedes the study of physics, whose province it is to enquire into the particular nature and laws of such objects. If the pleasures, received from scientific pursuits, depend on the investigation and acquisition of truth, the study of the mathematics is, of all others, the most capable of affording enjoyment; its conclusions not depending on the subtilty of argument, or the fallacy of language, but being capable either of sensible demonstration, or immediately referring to the first principles of human reason. It may also be added, that this science seems more complete and perfect than any other, as it generally attains the full end it aims at; whereas, in all other sciences, we expect to improve, rather than to perfect knowledge.

Under the comprehensive denomination of physics are included many particular studies, each of which affords ample materials for investigation. The professed subject of its enquiry is the whole system of material nature: in the pursuit of which branch of learning, it seems proper, in the first place, to acquire a general knowledge of the universe, as far as it is discoverable either by our natural endowments, or the artificial assistance with which human invention has supplied us; and from thence to proceed, in our enquiries, through the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; which employment, as it includes all we know of the earth we inhabit, has acquired the name of natural history.

It is by no means my intention to enter into a detail of the several studies which properly arrange themselves under these different heads: it is sufficient to have indicated the pre-eminence and subordination which seem to subsist between the different objects of science, and to have shown the necessity of adopting similar distinctions.

It must, however, be remarked, that it is not perhaps in our power to pursue the sciences in the precise order here pointed out; for there is a connexion throughout the whole system of human knowledge, which renders it impossible to arrive at excellence in any one branch, while we remain totally ignorant of the rest. The tendency of natural philosophy to promote the interests of morality, has already been hinted at; and the science of mathematics is in like manner intimately connected with other branches of natural philosophy.

I must also remark, that though under the general heads before mentioned, I mean to comprehend all human science; yet they by no means include every literary attainment, in the pursuit of which mankind are busied; many of which are acquired only for the purpose of being again employed in the attainment of further knowledge. But, as a skilful artificer, before he commences an important work, will bestow great attention in providing the implements necessary for his purpose; so it will behove us to be diligent in attaining these preliminary endowments, without which our labours may either be partially frustrated, or may entirely fail of success.

Of real knowledge, there are two sources, solitary observation or enquiry; and information derived from the previous knowledge of others; which last is by far the most copious of the two; but as this can only be communicated by the aid of language, either oral or written; so the certainty of the ideas we thus acquire, will depend on the skill we have attained in that language, by means of which the information is conveyed.

Thus the acquisition of different languages becomes necessary; but in this, as in other instances, care must be taken that we mistake not the means for the end; and, while we are employed in preparing further materials, suffer not so much of the building, as we have already erected, to fall to decay. To exert ourselves in attaining a knowledge of language, for the purpose of employing that knowledge in higher pursuits, is truly laudable; but to be conversant only with words, and suffer the science to centre in itself, is absurd and improvident.

It is unnecessary to enter into an enquiry, how far translations may supply the deficiencies of classical learning; or to point out the many advantages of which such learning is productive; this having been already done, by an author* to whom the public are under many important obligations. On the result of his "enquiry into the usefulness of classical learning," I shall take it for granted, that a knowledge of the ancient languages is of great advantage in many departments of science; from the exercise of the mind in the abstruser parts of grammatical study, it acquires a facility and accuracy of distinction which no other occupation can bestow; and by a proper selection of authors, we may advance our real knowledge in any particular science, while we are procuring the means of applying ourselves with advantage to further studies.

If language be considered as an implement for the purpose of attaining or improving knowledge, logic is that art which teaches us how to make a right use of such implement; while philology, or the science of criticism, maintains the purity of language, and guards it against those innovations, which inattention, fashion, and habit, are too apt to introduce.

These studies, if they come not properly under the denomination of science, are essential to the due prosecution of it. While they support their dignity, we may rest satisfied that true knowledge maintains its ground; but when these begin to be neglected, there is the greatest reason to believe, that ignorance and barbarism are again aiming to establish their ancient empire, and to fear, that their endeavours are not without success.

It has been before observed, that the pleasures we receive from the fine arts, depend on an original or instinctive power of the mind, which I have chosen to call the sentimental faculty; meaning to infer, that, as the improvements we make in virtue and knowledge, are founded on the moral and rational powers, so the acquisitions we make in the arts, consist in the improvement of certain feelings intimately connected by some secret and inexplicable union with the effects of those arts.

Whether the improvement of this faculty be, like that of our

NOTE.

* Beattie.

other endowments, a duty incumbent on us—and, if so, whether that duty ought to have a preference to any, and which, of those particular occupations we have before noticed—and again, which of those arts, employed in the cultivation of our feelings, is most powerful and efficacious in that respect, and ought more particularly to claim our regard, are questions which might admit of long enquiry, but which I shall touch upon as briefly as possible.

The arts now alluded to, are those of poetry, music, and painting, or, as they are called, in distinction from manual ingenuity, the polite arts.

Although these arts seem on the first view to be contributory only to our gratification; yet it should seem that providence, in endowing us with propensities and abilities to investigate and improve them, meant that they should become, in some degree, the objects of our enquiry: and indeed we see, throughout the whole creation, that the ends of beauty, amusement, and pleasure have never been neglected; otherwise we might ask, in the language of Shenstone,

- “Why knows the nightingale to sing?
- “Why flows the pine’s nectareous juice?
- “Why shines, with paint, the linnet’s wing?
- “For sustenance alone? For use?
- “For preservation? Every sphere
- “Shall bid fair pleasure’s rightful claim appear.
- “And sure there seem of human kind,
- “Some born to shun the solemn strife;
- “Some for amusive talks design’d
- “To sooth the certain ills of life,
- “Grace its lone paths with many a blushing rose,
- “New founts of bliss disclose,
- “Call forth refreshing shades, and decorate repose.”

The cultivation of the polite arts seems then to be conducive to the happiness of man, and consistent with the true end of his nature: but there is a still higher purpose to which they should be applied, the consideration of which will tend to ascertain the rank they ought to hold, and to determine their relative claims upon our time and abilities.

In admitting that the arts are intended for our gratification, it must not be understood that utility is exclusively the end of science, and amusement the end of the arts. From the study of the sciences, the understanding is enlarged, and the faculties strengthened; from that of the arts, the affections are exercised, and the heart is improved.

It would be superfluous to enter into an explanation of this sentiment; for who has not experienced that delightful glow, that inexpressible sensation, favourable to virtue and humanity, which the labours of the genuine poet never fail to inspire? who has not felt himself roused to action, or excited to pity, or affected with social sorrow, by the powerful effects of harmony, or the vivid representations of the pencil? After being conversant with these arts, the mind feels itself soothed and softened, and is then capable of receiving more distinctly and deeply, and retaining to more effectual purpose, those finer impressions, whence a very considerable

share of human happiness is derived, and which either give rise to, or highly improve, all the charities of social life.

Let us not then conclude, that, because the fine arts are apparently calculated for the gratification of our feelings, therefore they are to be postponed to all the more serious avocations which have before been noticed. It is their province to act upon our affections and passions, the impulses of which have often as principal a share in the direction of our conduct, as the suggestions of our judgment; and to regulate, correct, and harmonize them, by those means which providence has afforded us, becomes therefore a part of our duty no less essential, than the improvement of many of the sciences, or the cultivation of our rational powers.

To ascertain the particular rank to which the arts are entitled, might perhaps be a matter of some difficulty. That they ought by no means to interfere with the attainment of moral science, is certain; and perhaps several branches of natural philosophy, closely connected with the utility of mankind, may have a stronger claim on our time and abilities; but that they are invariably to be postponed to the study of nature, in all its branches, cannot be allowed. From the contemplation of heroic actions, whether communicated by the pen or the pencil, feelings are incited, strongly connected with the first and leading object of our pursuit, and of great importance to the advancement of virtue and the improvement of human life.

I must also remark, that as an unvaried application to one pursuit is not only irksome to us, but frequently defeats the end it aims at, those occupations, by whose assistance the mind can relax without debilitating, and amuse without degrading itself, must ever stand high in our estimation; and by being intermingled with our more serious labours, will afford a degree of cheerfulness, vigour, and activity, which will tend more than any other means to insure success in higher pursuits.

Of an endeavour to fix the comparative excellence of the polite arts with each other, the result would be of little use, nor is the subject susceptible of novelty. There is no great difficulty in influencing the judgment to the pursuit of any particular study; but the sentimental faculty chooses its own objects, and seldom makes a proficiency in any branch of art, which it has not spontaneously adopted.

I have thus made a faint attempt to elucidate an idea, which I conceived to be of considerable importance; and though I pretend not to have balanced with an accurate hand the comparative merit of the sciences, it is enough for my purpose, if I induce others to reflect, that there is a very considerable difference in the degree of attention that ought to be paid to them. And it will, I hope, sufficiently appear, that the cultivation of the moral sense ought to be the grand object of our endeavours, and that even the improvement of our intellect is laudable, principally, as it promotes this great end.

Let it however be permitted me to remark, that throughout this essay, I have considered every individual of mankind as engaged to improve his abilities, and thereby promote his own happiness, to the utmost of his power: but that I by no means would be thought to detract from the characters of those men, who have employed their time and talents in the pursuit of particular sciences, even to

the exclusion of others; and by arriving at eminence in them, have extended the bounds of human knowledge, and smoothed the way for future travellers. Infinite are the obligations mankind are under, to the illustrious characters who have thus devoted themselves to the public good: but we may reasonably expect to stand excused, if, whilst we enjoy the fruits of such generous ardour, we aim at the security of our private happiness, and prefer the secret consciousness of a proper discharge of the duties of life, to the popular approbation, which deservedly waits upon those who have successfully exerted their abilities, on subjects which have little or no connexion with the promotion of virtue, and the advancement of moral rectitude.



Thoughts on the commerce of the united states.

By John Swanwick, esq.

DURING the period in which this extensive continent formed a part only of another empire, by whose laws it was governed—its commerce was considerably cramped, and confined within limits by no means suited to its capacity of exertion. During the late war that succeeded, the unfortunate necessity of an emission of a circulating medium, of uncertain value, and the statutes passed for the protection of that paper, all operated to the destruction of trade, which can only flourish under a stable, wise, and just administration of government. After the peace, the power of congress, so long unfortunately inadequate to the protection of the whole empire, and regulation of the trade of its various parts, considerably tended to check its improvements. But at length the period is arrived, when the whole nation, placed under one superintending control, can avail itself of all its strength, and must of course make the most rapid approaches to perfection, in every line of its pursuit.

The commerce of this country may be at present considered as of two kinds, consisting of the import of whatever manufactures or articles of foreign growth are essential or ornamental to it, and the export of the various productions of our luxuriant soil, for the supply of distant nations: the latter is evidently the most beneficial, since by it the agriculturist is encouraged, and the best market discovered for the sale of the products of his industry. Beside, from hence, is more immediately derived that valuable branch of trade, which consists in the carriage of those articles, and the consequent increase of ship-building and navigation; of course, this claims the more immediate protection of government, who, to encourage it, have laid duties on foreign ships, of a nature to prevent, as much as convenient, their interference in it. Wisely reflecting, on the other hand, on the too great disposition, prevalent for foreign wares, they have, by well-timed duties, lessened their introduction, and encouraged the cultivation of domestic manufactures among us. It is impossible to conceive how useful have been these regulations, as far as they have already been carried into effect. While they bid fair to supply, in a manner almost imperceptible, whatever money may be wanting for the general exigencies of government; they have the happiest influence in promoting the gradual prosperity of the country; they have

taken off oppressive land-taxes, while they have encouraged its cultivation and settlement: to our cities they have given an uncommon spring of exertion, evident by their extension; navigation they have promoted in a surprising degree, as is seen by the number of large ships every where constructing, by which the variety of tradesmen connected with them, have been raised at once to a state of ease and competency, from one of severe depression; and the flag of the united states, from being of comparatively little importance, begins to be now ranked among the most respectable in every quarter of the globe.

Still greater improvements may be expected from the continual effects of wise and vigorous national councils, a due regulation of the coins, weights, measures, exchange, and inspection-laws, throughout the union; prudent and well judged combinations, by treaties, with foreign nations—the quick and impartial administration of justice throughout the empire—the due support of all measures calculated to promote and preserve public and private credit—the improvement of roads, and opening suitable canals for internal navigation—the liberal encouragement of agriculture and manufactures—the promotion of knowledge and learning: all these are sources, from which the commerce of our country anticipates the most powerful support. How evident that she only wants what is consistent with the public good, nay, that this is her own! How brilliant the prospect of all the advantages which must be produced by suitable attention to these objects! How happy the agents to whom the country shall be indebted for them! How fortunate her lot, when they shall be carried to perfection!

There is one object, however, that seems to demand an earlier attention of congress than most others, and which, it is surprising, has hitherto escaped their notice—it is the great principle of preventing foreign ships to introduce among us any articles but the produce of their own countries. For want of attention to this, the rising commerce of America to China is likely to be nipped in the bud: how hard, that after all the vigour of enterprise seen in such distant expeditions, after all the perils and dangers so long a voyage supposes, our ships, on their return, should find their prospects defeated, by the introduction of similar cargoes, from European states, so much nearer us! Thus the concurrence of foreign companies is permitted to raise the prices on our merchants abroad, and afterwards, strange to tell, equally permitted to defeat their objects at home! Duties have been laid, it is true, to discourage this; but they are inadequate to the purpose, as, it is apprehended, will in the present year be unfortunately experienced. In other nations, this commerce has been found, even without such competition, to require the aid of rich companies to conduct it. The wise policy of our constitution admits of no such monopolies; but surely we ought to prevent totally the interference of other nations in this business, for which no motive can be found to weigh against the discouragement it creates.

An unfavourable idea has at some time prevailed, of the interests of commerce and agriculture, as being at variance; and of the interests of one state, as differing from those of another, as to objects connected with trade. These delusions have sometimes proved fatal to it, and have often checked the tide of its improve-

ment; yet none are more void of truth and reason. That parts of the union should be eminent for mercantile talents, others for nautical abilities, and others for the cultivation of rich and bulky articles of export, would appear as fortunate contingencies, intended to cement the union by ties of mutual necessity and want. Yet have such circumstances created jealousies, instead of increasing harmony; and sometimes defeated, in our public councils, the wisest plans of national prosperity. We must hope a more generous and enlightened policy will succeed, and that the progress of time will speedily discover, that the strength and importance of the whole is combined in a due encouragement of every part, and that whatever benefits the remotest member of the body, will naturally pervade, and meliorate the whole.

REPLY TO THE ABOVE. *By dr. Ruffon.*

MR. SWANWICK, in his ingenious thoughts on the commerce of the united states, has favoured us with sundry observations concerning the past and present state of this country, which I believe, nobody will controvert; such as the confined state of its trade while under the British government; the embarrassments it laboured under, during the war of the revolution, from a depreciating paper currency, and from a fatal imbecility of the government under the old congress, since the peace. And I join with him most heartily, in felicitating our country on the happy change that has taken place under the new government, by the encouragement that has been given to agriculture, manufactures, shipping, and trade in general, in consequence of those wholesome duties that have been laid on foreign goods, which were more calculated to pamper luxury than of real use, by which means our country was drained of what little specie we had, and our manufactures discouraged. I agree with him also, in the two main divisions he has made of our commerce, viz. into that which consists of the import of whatever manufactures or articles of foreign growth, are essential, or even ornamental to us; and secondly, into that of the export of the various productions of our luxuriant soil, for the supply of foreign nations; but how the particular trade he points at, viz. the trade to China, can be conducive to the promoting of agriculture, is a secret which I am yet to learn. Indeed there is scarcely any one article that I know of, which is the produce of our farms, that will meet with a price at a Chinese market, except ginseng, a root that grows in the woods, but which is not cultivated on any farm that I know of. What then are the commodities with which this trade to China is to be carried on? Why, specie, silver dollars. And are we so flush of those, that we are under a necessity of being at an immense expense to fit out ships for those long and distant voyages, in order to find a vent for them? so far from it, that for want of them, we have been obliged to institute banks, as a means of furnishing ourselves with a necessary circulating medium. Have we more of them than are necessary to keep those bank notes in circulation? For every one, the least acquainted with banking, cannot but know, that bank notes cannot be supported without a certain quantity of specie; and yet, if I am not misinformed, there will be little less than half a million of

dollars sent to India this year. And where is the supply of dollars to come from, with which we are to support this expensive trade? Here, I am afraid, we shall find ourselves greatly at a loss; for, instead of having them from the West Indies, from whence we used to have our supply, we are obliged to send them thither; for such is the enhanced price of sugar, that a cargo of flour and lumber, will, at present, go but a little way in the purchase of a cargo of sugar.

And pray let me ask, what are the articles with which we are supplied from China, in exchange for our specie? It may be answered, tea, silks, muslins, &c. Mr. Swanwick, as a polite man, and a bachelor, may exclaim, The ladies cannot do without their tea! granted; they can no better do without the tea for their sugar, than they can do without sugar for their tea; and I will go as far, in reason, for the gratification of the ladies, as any bachelor in the united states: but I say, let us have it of those nations, who, from the expensive trading companies which they have established, are enabled to supply us much cheaper and better, than even we shall be able to supply ourselves, unless we go into similar establishments, which the constitution of our government seems, at present, to forbid; and they will do this, without exacting a shilling of specie among us. Portugal will do this, and take payment in wheat, which is the produce of our farms. "Prudent and well judged combinations by treaty," may perhaps, hereafter improve this, so that they may take it in flour; and this will be the true method of promoting our agriculture; the carriage of flour, together with the other bulky articles, which are also the produce of our agriculture, will give encouragement to seamen, promote ship-building; and we shall have no reason to complain of the hardness of our lot, "that after all the vigour of enterprise, seen in such distant expeditions, after all the perils and dangers so long a voyage supposes, our ships, on their return, should find their prospects defeated, by the introduction of similar cargoes from European states, so much nearer us."

T. RUSTON.

Defence of the thoughts on the commerce of the united states.

I AM much obliged to my friend dr. Ruston for the notice he is pleased to take of a few thoughts of mine upon the subject of the commerce of the united states; and if we cannot agree upon the mode in which the ladies are to be supplied with tea, I am at least happy to find, that we are equally desirous they should have it. I was, indeed, for obtaining it for them pure and unadulterated at the source: but the doctor appears to prefer its first passing through the medium of one of the most expensive and exclusive regal companies in Europe. If such a circumstance could add any thing to the refreshing qualities of this delightful beverage, the doctor would not find me opposing it; but, as I do not believe there are many improving qualities to be found in the constitution of these companies, I would rather the ladies should be supplied by their own countrymen, in a direct communication with the place of growth: and as they have not yet had any reason to complain of the dearth of this article, furnished by this way; so I doubt not the China trade, if properly protected, will produce always, through

the channels of individual competition, supplies perfectly adequate to our wants of this commodity, on terms quite as reasonable as they could be obtained for elsewhere; for I see no reason to suppose, while our ships sail as fast, and our seamen are as active as those of any other power, that there is any reason to fear but that they will bring our ladies tea upon terms as moderate as it could be obtained for, from the slower march, and heavier disbursements, which commonly attend the progress of importations conducted by European companies.

But even were it to cost us a little more, still I think our sentiments would be more elevated over a cup of tea, waisted to us by the exertions of our own countrymen, from a distant hemisphere, and on the scale of a commerce perfectly free, than we should find them at drinking a liquid brought to us, so disgracefully to our own talents for navigation, from a distant region of the globe, through the intervention of an oppressive European monopoly.—For indeed, what is there in these monopolies, congenial to the feelings of an American, who boasts that the stars which ornament his colours, like those of heaven, are formed to shine without constraint in every quarter of the world? The proudest similes of European orators, the most dignifying speeches of our own, are all founded on this spirit of free trade for our ships, which, it is hoped, will never be lost sight of, in the formation of any treaties whatsoever.

With respect to Portugal, all she can expect from us, is to furnish, on terms as reasonable as she could obtain them from others, the articles she wants, and in return to admit the produce of that kingdom to an equitable sale with us: and in that way, no doubt, mutual benefits are to be derived; but surely Portugal must be vastly ignorant of the genius of our people, if she could suppose that they would call upon her for articles not of the growth of her own dominions, which they could purchase at first hand from the original furnishers of them;—this she could no more expect, than that her East India company should possess the additional exclusive privilege of navigating for us.

With respect to the drain of specie, I do not consider this as of any account in the question, except so far as it may be useful in economics to teach us to do with as little tea as possible, seeing our money goes in exchange for it; for it must be manifest, that if we do not get tea in Portugal for our wheat, we shall obtain gold or silver for it: and this will enable us to make our purchases in China on better terms than we could at Lisbon, where freight, commissions, and other charges, must be paid on it, in addition to the first cost. All our government, therefore, has to do, is, in imitation of the invaluable policy of Great Britain, in her navigation act, to protect their own shipping in all quarters, by decreeing, once for all, that no foreign ship, of any nation whatsoever, shall introduce into these states any articles, not of their own immediate growth or manufacture. Thus they will be effectually prohibited from being carriers for a people whose maritime skill, whose extensive forests, and whose unbounded enterprize, render it wholly superfluous for any other people to intermeddle in this business.

J. SWANWICK.

Dr. Ruston in answer.

THE attention mr. Swanwick has paid to the few remarks I made upon his "thoughts on the commerce of the united states," is a circumstance very flattering to me, and I should be wanting in that respect which I have for him, if I was to neglect to make some reply to his last observations.

I am pleased to find, that we are both devoted, with equal ardour, to the service of the ladies, and equally desirous that they should be gratified with their favourite beverage; we only differ about the mode of supplying them with this delicious repast. That it can be had cheaper through the medium of European companies, mr. Swanwick himself admits: I contend that it can also be had better; and for the truth of this, I appeal to sundry cargoes of tea, imported directly from India, in our own ships, which were of so bad a quality, that they could not be disposed of; and this was at a time, also, when teas were exceedingly scarce. Mr. Swanwick, in his commercial line of life, I should suppose, cannot be unacquainted with this; the reason is obvious. European companies, who have been at the pains of forming expensive establishments in India, it is to be presumed, will have the choice of all the teas that are brought to those markets, where, as we have formed no such establishments there, and are only admitted by courtesy and upon sufferance, we are obliged to take up with the refuse. Was not the ladies' health therefore in some jeopardy, a circumstance that perhaps more naturally occurs to me than it may to mr. Swanwick, I should not complain so much of the expense, a thing that might easily be overlooked, for the sake of those "elevated sentiments excited over a cup of tea, wasted to us by the exertions of our own countrymen, from a distant hemisphere, and on the scale of a commerce perfectly free."

But mr. Swanwick, by means of his "concord of sweet sounds," and display of harmonious periods, has endeavoured to fascinate our minds, so as to draw off our attention from the main object in controversy between us, namely, whether the India trade has any tendency to promote our agriculture. I had said, "there is scarcely any one article, which is the produce of our farms, that will find a price at a Chinese market:" has mr. Swanwick said a syllable to gainsay this, with respect to the trade being carried on with specie? he affects to consider that as not of much consequence, "except so far as it may be useful in economics, to teach us to do with as little tea as possible, seeing our money goes in exchange for it." I consider it as of the greatest consequence, by draining us of that which we have not to spare, and of which we have not at present the means of getting a further supply, and the want of which may be attended with the most serious consequences. With regard to his exception, it goes to abridge his fair countrywomen of that delightful gratification, "because our money goes in exchange for it;" but which I am for indulging them in, to the full extent, in a way consistent with every principle of political economy, because it can be had in exchange for our wheat, which is the produce of our agriculture, because it will operate much more powerfully to encourage our navigation, than the China trade ever can do, and because it will not drain us of our specie. As to our getting specie from Portugal in exchange for our wheat, we have long ceased to

have any quantity of it from that quarter. What wheat they have had from us, has generally been paid for in wine; and I see no occasion to violate the principles of the act of navigation of Great Britain, by suffering the Portuguese to be carriers for us, since our own vessels, which carry them wheat, can bring us back tea and other East India goods, which we may have occasion for in return.

May 18.

T. RUSTON.



Mr. Swanwick's further defence of his observations on the American commerce with China.

I Have just finished the perusal of doctor Ruston's remarks on my late observations on the subject of the China trade, and before I proceed to reply, it may perhaps be well to bring into view the points in difference between us.—The doctor appears to think that tea may be had better and cheaper of the European East-India companies, than of the Chinese who raise it—that it will best promote our agriculture, to procure it from Europe, because we receive it in exchange for our wheat, the produce of our farms—and, finally, that by this means our money or specie, of the departure of which he appears to be seriously apprehensive, will be most securely preserved to us. In answer, I have stated, that it was impossible the European companies should supply us as cheap as the Chinese, seeing their very expensive establishments (which the doctor admits) as well as the additional freight and charges to Europe, must naturally prevent it. I have stated, further, that it is no way material to our agriculture, that we get tea for our wheat, as that circumstance would not increase the sale of it a single bushel; Portugal only taking from us what she immediately wants, and can get on as low terms from us as from others, for which she must pay us in coin, if she did not in tea; and, finally, I have asserted, that although the export of specie for tea might teach us moderation in the use of it, yet it could not be of any serious consequence, politically considered, since the specie, shipped off in this way, would soon be replaced by the other ordinary channels of commerce.

So far these positions appear to be clear and distinct, and I further hope that they will also prove to be just and well founded. Let us now enquire, whether the doctor has invalidated any of them by his recent reply; equally anxious with me, that the ladies may not want this agreeable repast, but more jealous, as more capable of judging of its effects upon the health, he condemns our own importations from China, because their quality, it seems, has been defective; a circumstance, which he ascribes to our want of expensive establishments in that country, and which he thinks occasions our taking up with the refuse of their teas: but I have never understood, from the course of trade, that the Portuguese teas imported, have surpassed our own in quality, nor do I know that it absolutely follows, that the selection of the article will be made with the more skill for the expensive nature of the foreign factories;—these have, on the contrary, rather proved ruinous to their employers, than otherwise—they have absorbed their profits, while they have added little to their interests—they have now and then provided for a favourite a comfortable sinecure, and have swelled the mass of the company's expenditures—they have now and then enabled their ser-

vants to return enriched to their native countries : but few of the European companies have survived their cost, and those few who have survived it, may rather attribute it to their territorial possessions and oppressions, than to any genuine produce of their trade. Perhaps one cause of the bad quality that has been complained of, in some of our importations of tea, may be justly ascribed to the mode of purchase upon credit or respondentia, which has taken place, in cases of a capital inadequate to the complete loading of the ship ; in such cases, the quality purchased may have proved inferior, as mostly credit purchases do to those effected with specie ; but if congress give an adequate protection to the trade, as I think they ought, by prohibitions of European imports of the article, our merchants will have encouragement to employ large and more effective capitals in this way, and the trade will afterwards regulate itself. Our silver will purchase on as good terms, under our own supercargoes, as the silver of other nations under theirs. Our country will be supplied with the finest teas, by its own citizens—its supercargoes will return home, as many of them already have done, enriched by their commissions—their ships, by the freights of the voyage, and the entire profits, will centre where they ought, among ourselves.

With respect to the question, whether our agriculture be benefited by the China trade, it may be sufficient to observe : that ginseng is an article which grows in our states, and forms one medium of exchange or barter ; and of course, as far as this, and the supplies necessary for our ships on such long voyages, go, these may be said to be circumstances which favour agriculture : but others, it is thought, may yet be found, in proportion as the trade is better understood. Agriculture is also promoted by manufactures, and of these, our commerce with these distant regions, will probably take off a part, as the intercourse shall extend further between us. The wines taken in payment for our wheat, the ships produced by our manufacture, cordage, iron, masts, spars, and many other articles, may be made the means of obtaining tea from China circuitously, as well as silver, to say nothing of voyages undertaken for furs and seal skins, some of which have also produced funds for the purchase of teas. But few will have inducement to adventure their fortunes, in such distant enterprises, while they may at last have a chance to undergo a competition with overstocked European warehouses, or destructive imports from companies nearer home. This unnatural circumstance, from its own nature, could not be supposed to last long. No individual or company could long sustain such losses, as would be the result of such shipments to this country : but still the fear and apprehension of them discourages what ought not to be discouraged, the generous ardour and enterprise of our commerce, and of course, really lessens the value and usefulness of it.

The doctor observes, that we have ceased long since to receive specie from Portugal in payment for our wheat ; and that specie is an article which we cannot spare, and the want of which may be attended with the most serious consequences to our country. That specie is scarce, we have yet had no occasion of observing. The articles produced by our farms for many years past, have been liberally paid for at very considerable prices. Agriculture therefore

has not languished—every branch of mechanic industry, seems at no loss for its due recompense—and the state of our public funds and exchanges, does not show any scarcity of money or want of zeal to employ it. If our importations of specie be not as great as formerly, it is not owing to the China, but to the British trade, which absorbs, in payment for the manufactures of that nation, the balances due to us from others, in Europe: but if, on the whole state of our commerce, the general balance be but favourable, our specie will be still on the increase, as fast as our necessities can require it, which is all we want. If that general balance be against us, no doubt the wisdom of our financiers will, in due time, find it out, and apply, or at least endeavour to apply, the proper remedies.

Upon the whole, every trade ought to be carried on in its own natural and just course. It is as natural we should look for tea in China, as for wine in Portugal. It is reasonable, that we ought to get each article best and cheapest at the place of growth. It is wise, that we should be our own carriers. These principles established, it results, that Britain was wise in forbidding any nation to introduce into that kingdom articles not of their own immediate growth or manufacture; for their doing so, carried, on the very face of it, an improper interference, just as it did to us, for instance, to see that same kingdom of Great Britain the carrier of our tobacco into France, a measure, which, however lucrative to them, was still quite inconsistent with their own policy towards other nations; and yet it was first checked, although so evidently our interest to have done it in the first instance, by the interposition of the national assembly of France. To conclude, our government will do right in protecting our commerce in its own natural channels—in preventing, as much as may be, foreign interferences therein—and in reserving to their own citizens the entire possession of the supply of their own wants from the most natural and obvious quarters.

J. SWANWICK.

MISCELLANEOUS POLITICAL OBSERVATIONS.

IT is a maxim too obvious to be disputed, that an ignorant people cannot long preserve freedom. How then, it will be asked, are savages free? They are so by nature. The liberty of a savage, however, and that of a civilized man, are essentially different. Civil liberty implies both restraint and protection; but a savage is neither protected nor restrained. Where there is no government at all, men are literally free, but from a want of law, they cannot enjoy their freedom. Where there is a despotic government, the people are politically slaves; but still they are not in a worse condition than savages who remain as free as nature formed them.

There cannot, strictly speaking, be any rational freedom without fixed laws. There can be no such laws, where there is no civilization. And as an ignorant people cannot be called civilized, they are without those materials which form the protection of law, and therefore cannot deem themselves free.

In tracing the causes of the decline of states, one after another, we are presented with a striking demonstration of the truths just mentioned. It must happen, that the splendor and pageantry of courts, the opulence and artifice of a few individuals, will create a

glare of civilization, which dazzles the great bulk of a community, who are still too unenlightened to be called civilized. No nation deserves such an appellation, where knowledge and property are confined to a few persons; any more than that deserves to be called a learned nation, in which a few individuals have made eminent attainments in science. The prevailing cast of character among the people at large, is what should constitute the national character.

Where the inhabitants of any country are destitute of the means of acquiring a current information of public affairs, they cannot be brought into a concert of views. They will be impressed with discordant notions of men and measures, and it will be impossible to produce any union of sentiment. A bitter spirit of party will inevitably attend such a situation; and public liberty will expire in the rage of faction.

The evils of faction, however, will always be checked in a community which possesses general information. The attempts of turbulent and intriguing men will soon be discovered, and easily defeated by a well-informed people; and all the avenues of public danger will be strictly guarded. Such people will readily learn what they ought to bear and what to resist. They will seldom commit mistakes; because they are raised above ignorance, which is the only soil in which mistakes can grow. The public opinion will, of course, be just and venerable. It will controul the formation of the laws, which will be so congenial to the public wish, and the public interest, that there can be no motive, and consequently no chance, for a bad execution. The only certainty that a law will be well executed, results from its being consonant to the general opinion—but how is an ignorant people to form any general opinion? The interest of mankind and their duty are the same thing. It is only because people are unenlightened, that their ideas of those objects should ever be so far separated as not to be expressed by the same word. Nature made them alike, and why should man make them different?



ON THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH IN AMERICA.

From Noah Webster's essays. Continued from page 44.

IN our colleges and universities, students read some of the ancient poets and orators; but the historians, which are perhaps more valuable, are generally neglected. The student just begins to read Latin and Greek to advantage, then quits the study. Where is the seminary, in which the students read Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Dionysius, Halicarnassæus, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, and Tacitus? How superficial must be that learning, which is acquired in four years! Severe experience has taught me the errors and defects of what is called a liberal education. I could not read the best Greek and Roman authors, while in college, without neglecting the established classical studies; and after I left college, I found time only to dip into books, that every scholar should be master of; a circumstance that often fills me with the deepest regret. "Quis enim ignorat et eloquentiam et cæteras artes deservisse ab ista vetere gloria, non inopia hominum, sed desidia juventutis, et negligentia parentum, et inscientia præcipientium, et oblivione moris antiqui? Nec in auctoribus cognoscendis,

nec in evolvenda antiquitate, nec in notitia vel rerum, vel hominum, vel temporum satis operæ infumitur."—*Tacitus, de Orat. Dial. 28. 29.*

There is one very necessary use of the Latin language, which will always prevent it from falling into neglect; which is, that it serves as a common interpreter among the learned of all nations and ages. Epitaphs, inscriptions on monuments and medals, treaties, &c. designed for perpetuity, are written in Latin, which is every where understood by the learned, and, being a dead language, is liable to no change.

But the high estimation in which the learned languages have been held, has discouraged a due attention to our own. People find themselves able, without much study, to write and speak the English intelligibly, and thus have been led to think rules of no utility. This opinion has produced various and arbitrary practices, in the use of the language, even among men of the most information and accuracy; and this diversity has produced another opinion, both false and injurious to the language, that there are no rules or principles on which the pronunciation and construction can be settled.

This neglect is so general, that there is scarcely an institution to be found in the country, where the English tongue is taught regularly, from its elements to its true and elegant construction in prose and verse. Perhaps in most schools, boys are taught the definition of the parts of speech, and a few hard names which they do not understand, and which the teacher seldom attempts to explain; this is called *learning grammar*. This practice of learning questions and answers, without acquiring any ideas, has given rise to a common remark, *that grammar is a dry study*; and so is every other study, which is prosecuted without improving the head or the heart. The study of geography is equally dry, when the subject is not understood. But when grammar is taught by the help of visible objects, when children perceive that differences of words arise from differences in things, which they may learn at a very early period of life, the study becomes entertaining, as well as improving. In general, when a study of any kind is tiresome to a person, it is a presumptive evidence that he does not make any proficiency in knowledge, and this is almost always the fault of the instructor.

In a few instances, perhaps, the study of English is thought an object of consequence; but here also there is a great error in the common practice; for the study of English is preceded by several years attention to Latin and Greek. Nay, there are men, who contend that the best way to become acquainted with English, is to learn Latin first. Common sense may justly smile at such an opinion; but experience proves it to be false.

If language is to be taught mechanically, or by rote, it is a matter of little consequence whether the rules are in English, Latin, or Greek: but if children are to acquire ideas, it is certainly easier to obtain them in a language which they understand, than in a foreign tongue. The distinctions between the principal parts of speech are founded in nature, and are within the capacity of a school-boy. These distinctions should be explained in English, and, when well understood, will facilitate the acquisition of other languages. Without some preparation of this kind, boys will of-

ten find a foreign language extremely difficult, and sometimes be discouraged. We often see young persons of both sexes, puzzling their heads with French, when they can hardly write two sentences of good English. They plod on for some months with much fatigue, little improvement, and less pleasure, and then relinquish the attempt.

The principles of any science afford pleasure to the student who comprehends them. In order to render the study of language agreeable, the distinctions between words should be illustrated by the differences in visible objects. Examples should be presented to the senses, which are the inlets of all our knowledge. That nouns are the names of things, and that adjectives express their qualities, are abstract definitions, which a boy may repeat five years without comprehending the meaning. But that *table* is the name of an article, and *hard* or *square* is its property, is a distinction obvious to the senses, and consequently within a child's capacity.

There is one general practice in schools, which I censure with diffidence; not because I doubt the propriety of the censure, but because it is opposed to deep rooted prejudices: this practice is the use of the bible as a school book. There are two reasons why this practice has so generally prevailed: the first is, that families in the country are not generally supplied with any other book: the second, an opinion that the reading of the scriptures will impress, upon the minds of youth, the important truths of religion and morality. The first may be easily removed; and the purpose of the last is counteracted by the practice itself.

If people design the doctrines of the bible as a system of religion, ought they to appropriate the book to purposes foreign to this design? Will not a familiarity, contracted by a careless, disrespectful reading of the sacred volumes, weaken the influence of its precepts upon the heart?

Let us attend to the effect of familiarity in other things.

The rigid puritans, who first settled the New England states, often chose their burying ground in the centre of their settlements. Convenience might have been a motive for the choice; but it is probable that a stronger reason was, the influence which they supposed the frequent burials and constant sight of the tombs would have upon the lives of men. The choice, however, for the latter purpose, was extremely injudicious; for it may be laid down as a general rule, that those who live in a constant view of death, will become hardened to its terrors.

No person has less sensibility than the surgeon, who has been accustomed to the amputation of limbs. No person thinks less of death, than the soldier, who has frequently walked over the carcasses of his slain comrades; or the sexton, who lives among the tombs.

Objects that affect the mind strongly, whether the sensations they excite are painful or pleasurable, always lose their effect by a frequent repetition of their impressions.* Those parts of the scripture, therefore, which are calculated to strike terror to the

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* The veneration we have for a great character, ceases with an intimate acquaintance with the man. The same principle is ob-

mind, lose their influence, by being too frequently brought into view. The same objection will not apply to the history and morality of the bible; select passages of which may be read in schools to great advantage. In some countries, the common people are not permitted to read the bible at all; in ours, it is as common as a newspaper; and, in schools, is read with nearly the same degree of respect. Both these practices appear to be extremes. My wish is, not to see the bible excluded from schools, but to see it used as a system of religion and morality.

These remarks suggest another error, which is often committed in our inferior schools: I mean that of putting boys into difficult sciences, while they are too young to exercise their reason upon abstract subjects. For example; boys are often put to the study of mathematics, at the age of eight or ten years; and before they can either read or write. In order to show the impropriety of such a practice, it is necessary to repeat what was just now observed, that our senses are the avenues of knowledge. This fact proves, that the most natural course of education is that which employs first the senses or powers of the body, or those faculties of the mind which first acquire strength; and then proceeds to those studies, which depend on the power of comparing and combining ideas. The art of writing is mechanical and imitative; this may therefore employ boys, as soon as their fingers have strength sufficient to command a pen. A knowledge of letters requires the exercise of a mental power, memory, but this is coeval almost with the first operations of the human mind; and with respect to objects of sense, is almost perfect even in childhood. Children may therefore be taught reading, as soon as their organs of speech have acquired strength sufficient to articulate the sounds of words.†

But those sciences, a knowledge of which is acquired principally by the reasoning faculties, should be postponed to a more advanced period of life. In the course of an English education, mathematics should be perhaps the last study of youth in schools. Years of valuable time are sometimes thrown away, in a fruitless

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servable in the body. High seasoned food, without frequent intervals of abstinence, loses its relish. On the other hand, objects that make slight impressions at first, acquire strength by repetition. An elegant simplicity in a building may not affect the mind with great pleasure at first sight: but the pleasure will always increase with repeated examinations of the structure. Thus by habit, we become excessively fond of food which does not relish at first tasting; and strong attachments between the sexes often take place from indifference, and even from aversion.

† Great caution should be observed in teaching children to pronounce the letters of the alphabet. The labials are easily pronounced; thus the first words a child can speak, are *papa* and *mama*. But there are some letters, particularly *l* and *r*, which are of difficult pronunciation, and children should not be pressed to speak words in which they occur. The difficulty may produce a habit of stammering.

application to sciences, the principles of which are above the comprehension of the students.

There is no particular age, at which every boy is qualified to enter upon mathematics to advantage. The proper time can be best determined by the instructors, who are acquainted with the different capacities of their pupils.

Another error which is frequent in America, is, that a master undertakes to teach many different branches in the same school. In new settlements, where people are poor, and live in scattered situations, the practice is often unavoidable: but in populous towns, it must be considered as a defective plan of education. For suppose the teacher to be equally master of all the branches which he attempts to teach, which seldom happens, yet his attention must be distracted with a multiplicity of objects, and consequently painful to himself and not useful to the pupils. Add to this the continual interruptions which the students of one branch suffer from those of another, which must retard the progress of the whole school. It is a much more eligible plan to appropriate an apartment to each branch of education, with a teacher who makes that branch his sole employment. The principal academies in Europe and America are on this plan, which both reason and experience prove to be the most useful (*To be continued.*)

NEW-YORK ELECTION OF GOVERNOR.

THE controversy about the election of a governor of the state of New-York, has thrown the state in a violent ferment— which, judging from present appearances, will not easily nor speedily be allayed. The question, on which the election turned, has been fully stated; and is well understood, I believe, in this state; and I have never heard *one* man attempt to justify the majority of the canvassing committee. On the other hand, their decision is universally reprobated as illegal. But the question is, how is the evil to be remedied? Is there a constitutional, a legal, or a regular peaceable mode of obtaining redress? Were not the committee made by law, the *supreme court to decide on the election in the last resort*?—If so, where is the power to redress the injury?

If, then, there is no mode of redress, what do the people of the state expect by circulating addresses and inflammatory publications? It may be said, as the rights of suffrage have been violated, it is proper the citizens should express and communicate to each other their abhorrence and indignation of such unwarrantable proceedings. True; but does not Mr. Jay himself recommend temperance in resentment?

Though I have been uniformly of opinion the committee were almost criminal in rejecting the votes of the three counties; yet I was sorry to see the addresses presented to Mr. Clinton and Mr. Jay, and to hear of public entertainments given to them by their respective adherents. Mr. Jay's friends have reduced him to the necessity of *answering* those public addresses— a situation, which they never should have placed him in. To have returned no answer at all, would have been uncivil. To have told his friends it was perhaps *impolitic* or *improper*, would have implied a censure on them, that would have violated the rules of good breeding, and given offence. To give an

answer to those addresses, without dropping some expressions which faction might misrepresent or censure, was a matter of extreme difficulty. In short, Mr. Jay's friends led him, by the warmth of their attachment, into a dilemma from which his superior judgment, good sense, and prudence, could not extricate him, without incurring unmerited censure.

But what will be the effect of these measures? Violent parties are formed in the state; is it prudence, is it wisdom, is it policy, to add fuel to the flame of discord? If the election law is a bad one, will not the legislature correct the evil? If the state has suffered a wrong, will not the public indignation manifest itself at the next election, or in a legislative way? I never knew a bad cause ultimately succeed among an enlightened people; but I have known violent proceedings protract the duration of evils, even to an unnatural length. The factions and party-spirit of New-York, may be considered as a deplorable calamity; but will not violent measures give duration and perpetuity to that calamity? Do the parties strive for peace, when they marshal their forces, and give them order and establishment?

If these queries deserve any notice, it is perhaps because they arise in the mind of an *indifferent spectator*, whose interest is not concerned in this controversy, and whose passions of course are not enlisted with either party.

I confess I cannot view this contest in a neighbouring state, without feeling a more lively attachment to the mode of election in this state. Here no man dare publicly avow his wishes for an office—no man dare advertise for votes—no man dare openly use his influence for a particular candidate—no ticket is ever circulated publicly, and seldom privately; as it would injure a man's character, if he was detected in doing it. The freemen of towns meet on the proper day, and take their seats in the church; the constable gives notice to prepare their votes, then walks round to the several pews, and takes the ballots, which the authority of the town sort and seal up in a paper, which is sent to Hartford by representatives of the town, and there numbered in public. No contest can ever arise—no dispute—no confusion. The freemen at elections are as silent, nearly, as at church on Sunday; and it rarely happens, that any man will tell his neighbour what candidate he votes for. The whole history of this state does not, I believe, afford a single instance of a contested election, much less of any tumult, disorder, or disturbance on account of an election. However superior other states may be in other respects, this fact concerning the elections of Connecticut deserves the consideration of political men in her sister states.

Connecticut, July 1792.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

THE animosity which exist between two parties in this state with respect to the late election of governor, is the cause of great uneasiness and serious apprehensions to all friends of peace and good order.—A little fire, when neglected, and especially when blown, will soon mount to a destructive flame. It is certainly the duty of every member of society, to promote, as far as he can, conciliatory

measures, just as it is the duty of every citizen, when a house is on fire, to hand a bucket or work an engine.

With this view I am induced to suggest two ways of ending this unhappy dispute, which I do not remember to have seen suggested by any of the writers on either side. They will at least, then, be thought new, if they even should be judged absurd or impracticable.

The first is, that the late candidates be called upon to decide the contest by single combat. I am strongly opposed to duels in common cases; but in some particular cases, they are lawful. Whether the present is one, I will not take upon me to determine. If there must be fighting, it is much better that they fight, than the community at large; there will be less blood, and less precious blood shed on the occasion. For my own part, I had rather look on, than engage myself; and am fully resolved not to risk, if possible, my head in the business.

These gentlemen might fight either on horseback or on foot—armed either after the ancient or the modern manner, as they choose; and it should be firmly agreed, that whoever refused to enter the list, or was vanquished in battle, should lose all pretensions, and the other be unanimously considered as governor of *right and fast*.

The other plan, which has occurred to my mind, is, that both candidates, *voluntary* resign all pretensions, and that two others be proposed. This would be most acceptable to those who are not fond of the clash of arms. We should then exercise the right of voting to our heart's content; and have a second twist at it. There are a great many in the state, who would make as good governors as either of them; and there is no need of so much noise merely about two men.

Some writers have proposed, that he, who at present holds the office, should resign in favour of the other: but that I disapprove, as not calculated to give satisfaction. Let him resign on this express condition, that new candidates be held up; and on no other can he resign, consistently with duty. Indeed, if some folks would hearken to reason, it appears to whisper, that fewer evils will arise from his holding the office for three years, than from a new election, in any mode whatever.

I could say a great deal about the redress from the legislature, talked of, and about calling a convention--of the first of which I have no good opinion; and the last I entirely reprobate--but I have not time. *New-York, July 27.* A PEACE MAKER.

STATE OF PARTIES.

HAVING but lately arrived from Europe, mr. Printer, and having come over under the fullest impressions of meeting here, with a generous and enlightened public, united in a common concern for liberty and good government, I must confess it has occasioned me considerable surprise, to perceive, on the contrary, existing so strong a spirit of party and of unmeaning and artificial distinctions. Since I have been here, I have already heard of tories, antifederalists, constitutionalists, aristocrats, opposers of the funding system, &c. As I cannot but believe there must be some error or want of good understanding, that gives rise to these divisions, I will give you the result of my enquiries into their nature, in hopes that it may tend

to put an end to them, when there shall be a mutual and general conviction of their absurdity and folly.

By tories, I understand are meant the opponents of this country, from among her own citizens during the late war against Great Britain: but surely these can have nothing in common with modern politics; now that the subject of their former zeal has ceased to operate, what can the most zealous devotee of the king of Great Britain have to do as a party-man, when that king has renounced all claim to the object in contest? There must be surely some mistake therefore in the present revival of this dormant opprobrium.

By anti-federalists, I understand are meant those who opposed the general adoption of the constitution of the united states: but surely now that the constitution is firmly cemented and recognized---now that it is in full force and credit, it appears silly to conjure up phantoms of departed spirits, like hobgoblins, to alarm the quiet citizens, peaceably reposing under its shade.

By constitutionalists, I understand are meant those who under the late constitution of the state, were opposed to its present reform; but, neither do I see what these can have to do, now that the constitution has been by general consent amended, is peacefully submitted to, and even administered, it is said, by some of themselves in high offices.

By aristocrats, I understand a term of late importation from France (distinctions enough probably not occurring at home) by which is meant in the old countries the admirers of the ancient feudal system, and order of nobility: but what this can have to do in a country like this, where there are no nobles, nor ever were any—and where the general equality of talents and fortune, of family and station, give no possible pretext to the sect, I cannot understand: surely it must be a misnomer—surely no body here can be for picking up at this time of day the refuse of all other people—the universally exploded aristocracy—the foe of domestic as well as of public happiness—no, no, until we have hereditary entails, posts, and pensions, orders and titles, hierarchies and monarchies, fleets and armies, an aristocrat must be a *rara avis* in this country.

By opposers of the bank and funding systems, I understand those, who, while these measures were debated in congress, gave them opposition on grounds then explained; but surely it cannot be seriously believed, that now these systems have been perfected by congress, and are carried into execution, it can ever be the wish of any to throw all into confusion, by a repeal injurious to the interests of thousands, and disgraceful to the common country. No, it cannot be credited, that any man would have boldness or audacity enough to propose so nefarious a piece of business, which, after all, is impracticable; as nothing can destroy the effect of contracts, but their liquidation. And it can hardly be imagined, a majority of both houses of congress, with the president at their head, would set their hands to a deliberate act of national injustice; for whatever may have been the origin of these certificates, or their nominal value, long since they have received a fresh, a new stamp of value from a new government, which has given them a credit that has induced foreigners and others to pay the full value for them, under which circumstances no honest man could vote for defrauding them.—But those who from virtuous motives have opposed those

systems, may so far continue their opposition, and surely without censure, as to plead for the extinction of the debt by payment, as early as possible, consistently with the public faith. They may also allowably withstand all modes not positively binding, of increasing this debt, and with it the ministerial influence arising out of it: for these things the public creditors will owe them thanks; because their property will be rendered more secure; and posterity will owe them thanks, that, warned by the immensity of the British debt and taxes, they warded off such a misfortune's approaching to this country.

Let not then honest and well meaning citizens any longer so mis-call or mistake each other; they are all brethren: let the ties of mutual love and forbearance unite them, and they will speedily discover how malignant and unmeaning are the epithets so ridiculously and insidiously disseminated among them. *Aug. 4, 1792.*

DETACHED THOUGHTS ON ELECTIVE GOVERNMENT.

SUPPOSE the united states were, like Poland, surrounded on all sides by jealous, ambitious, powerful neighbours, what interest could any of these have in embroiling the country by their intrigues, to procure the election of any one particular person? They could not place a stranger in the president's chair: for though at present a foreigner may still be elected, that foreigner must be a resident citizen, of fourteen years standing; and after the lapse of a few years, none but "*a natural born citizen*" will be eligible. Besides, how could they, in return for their millions spent in bribery and corruption, ever hope to derive equivalent advantages from a man who is elected, *not for life*, as was the case in Poland, but for the short term of *four years*, and who is, moreover, liable at all times to be impeached and removed from office, for the smallest instance of mal-administration?

Had Charles II. of England expected to be called to account for his conduct, would he ever have ventured to betray the interests of Britain, by selling Dunkirk to the French, for less than the value of the very stores and ammunition contained in its magazines at the time of its surrender? had George III. been liable to impeachment, would he have dared, in opposition to the wishes of a majority of his subjects, to involve Britain and America in all the horrors of a civil war?—No: neither of them would have been so fool-hardy. But the misfortune is, that kings, who are vested with sovereign power for 999 years, if they happen to live so long, are a sort of *political atheists*, who, not expecting an after-state of retribution, think themselves entitled to act as they please, especially as it is well known, "*kings can do no wrong.*"—Whereas the man, who is entrusted with power only for a short time, and who knows that he *is liable* to do wrong, must firmly believe in a future state, where he will be rewarded with praise or impeachment, according to his deeds: and by such belief, he will regulate his conduct.

When the candid, honest American contemplates the enormous abuses, that have invariably attended hereditary power in every country of the world—when he reflects, that all the evils attendant on the election of a chief magistrate, are obviated by our happy constitution, while all the benefits are secured to us—he cannot

but acknowledge, that our form of government is infinitely superior to any that has ever yet been established in the known world. It must, therefore, be his ardent wish to guard it against all encroachments or innovations; and he ought to be cautious how he gives ear to the doctrines of any man who recommends alterations in it, except for the sole purpose of erecting, if possible, still stronger bulwarks to secure the liberties of the people, not only from actual danger, but even from the very appearance or possibility of it.

August 10, 1792.

ON FREEDOM OF ENQUIRY.

THE constitution of the united states begins, WE THE PEOPLE. The advocates of the system have plumed themselves on having made a notable discovery in government—that the sovereign power of free states rests with the people: and yet these very men appear jealous, and condemn with the most insolent abuse every attempt made by the people to enquire into the measures of government. If it was even consistent with the principles of the general government, to suppress the opinions of the citizens respecting public affairs, would it be safe? would the legislature act with greater circumspection, justice, and wisdom, enveloped in the dead silence of a despotic government, than having its measures constantly canvassed by free citizens, who are to be affected by its measures; legislatures must either have designs inimical to the liberties of the people, or must be puny politicians, indeed, who wish to make every act of government a mystery of state.

In civil society, force is not to be used even against unjust laws, except as the *ultima ratio populi*. What then must we think of those men who wish to suppress every kind of candid investigation respecting public affairs, or who give them a false colouring only intended to deceive? there is no state of indifference with respect to public measures; they are either calculated to promote the private interests of the well-born few, or to secure the prosperity and happiness of the people. The choice between the two is certainly a matter of importance. But in what manner is the choice to be made, if a candid investigation into public measures is to be suppressed? A government, that sincerely desires to do good, will encourage a free and public enquiry on every subject, in order to come at the truth. The melancholy silence which prevails in Turkey, Russia, and other despotic governments, neither proves the security of those empires, nor the happiness and contented situation of the people. It is true, that you hear no complaint of the ministry, no disrespectful word uttered respecting the affairs of government; and yet the oppressed subjects are frequently roused from the most timid state of submission, to acts of the utmost outrage and violence. You may for a time retain men in the most abject state of oppression, and you may dignify it with the name of government: but it has rather the appearance of a secret mine, which, however apparently quiet, yet is every moment in danger of explosion.

July 11, 1792.

A FARMER.

Observations on the present state of affairs and opinions. An extract of a letter from an American who has been some time in Europe, and is lately returned to his own country.

HAVING concluded the private objects of this letter, permit me, my dear friend, to touch on public matters, and to express the extreme surprise and mortification produced by some changes in our situation, which I never could have apprehended at the time of my departure. Previous to that date, it had been the proud and pleasing hope of every true American, that his country was to be an example to the world of all the dignified virtues of republican simplicity; that it was to be the asylum of merit and liberty, persecuted in almost every other part of the globe; that it was entering a career of glorious improvements in the shade of peace, which would be the proper sequel to its splendid and patriotic achievements in the field of war; that it was to be distinguished by the unrivalled blessings of an untainted and artless government, of a spirit of legislation equally free from mysterious concealment, an artificial management, and a servile imitation, and of a style of manners congruous to the purity of such a government, and to the honest simplicity of such a code of laws. These were the sentiments, which, you well know, animated us to the boldest conflicts; these were the sentiments which supported us under the severest calamities: and were not these the sentiments also which consecrated the motives, and enforced the adoption of our present national government? How soon, alas! have clouds been thrown over these bright and glorious prospects. Who could have believed, that, in so short a space of time, an active and influential faction could have been formed (pardon a harshness of language which my indignation will not permit me to soften) which, by its doctrines and endeavours, would reverse our sublime policy and flattering hopes, and make us retrograde in every path that leads to useful reformations, and a just provision for equal rights and general happiness? You cannot, my friend, do justice either to my feelings or my reflexions, without making my situation in all respects your own. I have seen in Europe kings tottering on their thrones, and nobles tumbling from the haughty elevation from whence they have for ages insulted the rights of their injured fellow citizens: and the first tidings that await my arrival in my own country, are the attempts of her degenerate sons to write and talk and intrigue those antiquated usurpers into fashion. In Europe, I have seen the most enlightened of its nations sick at length of their enormous and perpetual taxes, and struggling to get rid of them. Here, I find, that we are pursuing the mad policy of increasing and perpetuating both. In Europe, they are banishing monopolies, and lotteries, and all other tyrannical and gambling contrivances, as fast as their crepuscular light and corrupt governments will permit. Here, in the meridian blaze of day, and in the very childhood of our government, we see these pestilential institutions patronised and pampered, as if they were the nurse of virtue and the food of liberty. In Europe it is the effort of every pretender to political science, to unshackle commerce from its excessive burdens and its galling restrictions. Here, we appear to be overloading it with duties, and forcing ourselves into all the

impolitic regulations which oppress the honest merchant, impose on the tributary consumer, disappoint the exchequer of its revenue, and generate frauds and forgeries and perjuries, as numberless as they are calamitous. In Europe, it is considered as of all things most desirable, to simplify and relax the general system of their taxation, and more particularly to diminish the vexations resulting from the nature and number of their excises. Here, we are already pushing them into the recesses of domestic employment; and it is not concealed, as I am informed, that the policy is to be systematically followed up, as fast as other articles of manufacture are sufficiently matured for the purpose. In Europe, I have heard among all the most enlightened statesmen and soundest patriots, but one opinion on the expediency of diminishing the interference of government, with what rightfully and properly belongs to individual management. Here, I find is an eagerness and laboriousness beyond example, to multiply and complicate the objects of government, to extend the grasping and griping hand of power to every private pursuit and every individual occupation. In Europe, my friend, be assured, that the nations, inspired with the dignity of human nature, and instructed in the rights of men, are rising from the prostrate condition to which they have been heretofore chained, by the ancient tyranny of feudal barbarism, and the rapacious cunning of modern fiscality: and can any American, my friend, who has seen the long benighted and debased nations of the old world preparing to cast off the usurpations of kings and nobles, and to purge away the political corruptions, the vices, the follies, and the errors, which have for ages oppressed them; can any American, I say, who has seen other countries beginning to knock off their galling chains, behold an attempt to pick them up and fasten them on his own, with less indignation than I have expressed?—No, my friend, it is impossible. I know that you will believe so; and that you *think* on the subject as I do. But I must tell you at the same time, that you cannot *feel* as I *feel*; unless you will cross the Atlantic, and *see* what I have *seen*."

NATIONAL BANK.

Nothing can better show the spirit by which a certain *faction* is actuated, than the gross and barefaced expedients they practise, to impose on the supposed ignorance and credulity of their fellow-citizens. Of this a notable specimen is to be found in the animadversions on the late loan from the bank of the united states to the government. Among other sophistical absurdities, it is asserted that "the loan will consist of paper, which costs the bank nothing," and that it will be "repaid in gold and silver." This is a direct and palpable untruth. The loan in question, and every loan which is made by the bank, either to the public or individuals, is *absolutely* and *unequivocally*, a loan in specie. The moment after the sum lent is passed to the credit of the borrower, he or any person to whom he gives an order, for the whole, or any part of it, can go or send to the bank, and take out the amount in guineas, dollars, or other gold or silver.—And this, in fact, is done in every case in which gold and silver are more convenient to the party entitled to receive, than bank notes. If he takes bank notes, it can only be because he pre-

fers them. And what are these notes? They are payable to the bearer on demand, in gold or silver. Every holder of a note can go or send to the bank any day in the week, except Sunday, and receive the amount of it in specie. These are facts known to every citizen of Philadelphia, to every well-informed man in the united states.

When, therefore, the whole sum lent can, *in the first instance, be taken out of the bank in gold or silver, or both, at the mere pleasure of the borrower*—when, if he takes notes, it must be for no other reason than because he prefers them—and when, for the notes which he takes, he or any other person into whose hands they come, can at any time demand and receive at the bank their amount in gold and silver—with what propriety, with what plausibility, with what semblance of truth or modesty, can the people be told, that the loan in question consists of *paper which costs nothing to the bank?*

But this is not all. It is endeavoured, by ambiguous and artful expressions, to induce a belief, that the government has *wantonly, without consideration, and at the expense of the people, granted four millions of dollars to the bank.* This is the natural inference, which uninformed readers would draw from what is said: and yet nothing is further from the truth. The government has not granted a *single farthing.* It has only granted to a number of individuals a corporate capacity to enable them to associate and unite *their own money and funds* to carry on the business of banking. It is true, they make a profit by that business; but they make it only at the *expense of those who voluntarily deal with them, not at the expense of the people,* as is falsely and wickedly asserted. They make it at the expense of those who are *willing to borrow their money;* for the loan of which too they can take no more than *six per. cent. per annum.* The borrower also finds his compensation in the use of the money which is lent to him; so that, in strictness, the profits of the bank are at nobody's expense; since every one, who contributes to them, gets a full equivalent for what he contributes. Nay, he commonly makes a profit to himself, over and above what he pays.

Neither has this *mere privilege, this capacity* to associate and act as a body, been granted without abundant consideration. Several important public advantages afford of themselves sufficient compensation. The accommodations to trade by facilitating loans to those who carry it on—and by establishing, in the notes of the bank, a more convenient medium of remittance from place to place—the promoting of the easy collection of the revenue by means of those loans, and of an increased circulation—the rendering it more easy to the government to obtain loans, on moderate terms, in cases of emergency; as in the very instance which has called forth the malevolent strictures under examination.—Nor are these the only considerations of the grant.—A *special and direct* equivalent has been secured by the government, in the very terms of it, worth at this moment 1,200,000 dollars.

This results from the right reserved to the government to subscribe 2,000,000 of dollars to the stock of the bank; borrowing back with one hand what is subscribed with the other, and without an immediate advance of a single shilling. By this operation, at the present price of bank stock, the government has made a clear net

profit of the sum above mentioned, namely, 1,200,000 dollars, since it can dispose of its share of that stock at an advance of sixty per cent.

The government then has in fact secured to itself one fifth of all the profits which the bank has made, or shall hereafter make. It has secured to itself, what is now equal to a clear gain of 1,200,000 dollars.—Are 1,200,000 dollars no consideration?

Let the conduct of the national government be compared with that of the states, which have made similar grants, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New-York, Maryland: Which of these states has made so advantageous a bargain for itself as congress has done for the union?—Neither of them.—Then where is the ground to say that, in making the grant, congress acted *wantonly* and without consideration?



On the aristocratical tendency of chancery courts.

ONE thing enumerated by congress as a grievance, and as an infringement of our rights by the king and parliament of Great Britain, was their depriving us, in many instances, of trial by jury. In this particular, we are no better off now, than before. The same aristocratic principles of the British government are interwoven in our government. In all controversies of common law, juries are the sole judges of law and equity: but of what value is their decision, or the privilege of trial by a jury in civil cases, when, at the option of either party, the decision of a jury can be removed into a court of chancery, (where the verdict of a jury of our peers, may be reversed by the chancellor) and from his decision to a court of error? This appears to me a perfect jargon and a complicated piece of nonsense. If it be right and just, that a person shall be compelled to give evidence against himself, as is the case in courts of chancery; why not the same practice be admitted in common law? if it be unjust to compel any person to give evidence against himself, in a common law procedure, why is he suffered to be compelled in any court whatever? I can see no valuable purpose it can serve, to have our laws so complicated, unless it be, to multiply law proceedings, procrastinate and delay justice, multiply cost, and give the aristocratic party very great advantages over the commonalty. Therefore, I am of opinion, that the court of chancery ought wholly to be abolished, as a glaring instance of oppression and partial administration of justice, and openly calculated to maintain an arbitrary aristocratic influence and decision of law over the commonalty. It may be insisted on, that as courts of chancery are open to the poor, or middle sort of people, as well as to the rich, it is just. I answer, that the excessive expense attending chancery suits, is an effectual bar to all, except those that have long purses; therefore, if the plaintiff or defendant be in slender circumstances, they had better lose the suit in common law, than to pay a cost more, or as much as the matter in question is worth: Besides, in respect of what may be called a jury of our peers, I conceive it is to be men of the same vicinage and men of the like circumstances in life. Are chancellors men of the like condition in life with the poor or middle class of people?

I answer, no : but on the contrary, they are the peers of the great, and the opulent. In decisions of law, is it likely, if partiality should ever appear, to have it in favour of the commonalty ? The probability is so small, that it hardly admits of a possibility : but if there is any, it is sure to be in favour of their own class. But if all men are born to equal rights in a community, why two modes of law decision : one for the rich, and the other for a different class of men ? This is one of the dregs of the British constitution, and ought to be objected to, as nugatory, a mockery, and a defraud ; and if there be a controversy in common law, and one of the parties be of the common branch, and the other be of the higher class, the jury ought to be composed of each class one half, as near as might be.

New-York, July 1792.

M I G R A T I O N T O A M E R I C A .

AT no period since the discovery of America has the spirit of emigration been so general as it is at present. Instead of servants by indentures, sent out from Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany, we find several respectable families come from these countries with an intention of establishing factories and little colonies, in various parts of our frontier towns, and back settlements.

A vessel, arrived at one of our ports, a few days ago, brought near 500, and another 750 passengers, many of whom were of the class abovementioned. These people have given it as their opinion, that no less than ten thousand would emigrate this fall from one port in Ireland, if an opportunity offered on board American vessels, which in general are preferred to those of their own country. It is even confidently asserted from late information, received in different parts of the continent, that upwards of four thousand mechanics, merchants, gentlemen, and nobles, from the Netherlands, and who, with respect to the present contests there, meant to be altogether neuter, and wishing on that account, though in vain, to steer clear of the storms, which they, for some time past, saw gathering in their political horizon, came to a resolution of quitting their native country forever—and to seek that peace and happiness in a foreign clime, which hath been denied both to them, and to their ancestors, for above 300 years ; the low countries, as they are called, having been always made the theatre of war upon the continent of Europe.

Some time ago, 200 of these people, who had invested part of their money in the Dutch funds, met with considerable opposition from different parties, who suspected their intention ; and, under pretence of their being factious persons, who wished to join some of the belligerent powers, inimical to their interest, prevailed on the directors of the bank to impede their design as much as possible. Those who had money in the English funds, were more successful ; for although it was well known that they proposed coming to America, and settling here, no stumbling block was thrown in their way—and they are all now ready to embark by the first vessels that sail either from Holland or England, to the number of 4,000 upon a moderate calculation—with cash and other valuable effects, estimated at 600,000*l*, of this currency. Their ports of desti-

nation are between Philadelphia and Alexandria; and the federal city, or some of its neighbouring towns, supposed to be their object for a permanent residence.

A composition for the cure of diseases, defects, and injuries in all kinds of fruit and forest trees, invented and practised by William Forsyth, gardener to the king of Great-Britain.

ONE bushel of fresh cow dung, half a bushel of lime rubbish from old buildings, (that from the ceiling of old rooms is preferable) half a bushel of wood ashes, and 1-16th of a bushel of pit or river sand: the three last articles are to be sifted fine before they are mixed, then worked together well with a spade, and afterwards with a wooden beater, until the stuff is very smooth, like fine plaster used for the ceiling of rooms.

All the dead, decayed, and injured part of the tree must be cut away to the fresh sound wood, leaving the surface very level, and rounding off the edges of the bark perfectly smooth. Lay on the plaster about 1-8th of an inch thick, all over the part so cut away, finishing off the edges as thin as possible. Take a quantity of dry powder of wood ashes, with 1-6th of the ashes of burnt bones; put it into a tin box, with holes in the top, and shake the powders on the surface of the plaster, until the whole is covered with it, letting it remain for half an hour, to absorb the moisture; then apply more powder, rubbing it on gently with the hand, and repeating the application of the powder, until the whole plaster becomes a dry smooth surface.

In all trees cut down near the ground, the dry powder should have an equal quantity of powder of alabaster mixed with it, in order the better to resist the dripping of trees and heavy rains.

Where old rubbish cannot be got, substitute pounded chalk, or common lime, after having been slacked a month at least.

When the edges of the plaster are raised up next the bark, care should be taken to rub it over with the finger, especially when moistened by rain, to prevent the air and wet from penetrating into the wound.

The effects of this composition have been enquired into by the commissioners of the land revenue, in Great Britain, and a respectable committee of both houses of parliament; ten of whom viewed the trees which Mr. Forsyth has undertaken to renovate; and were so well satisfied, that the king granted a reward to Mr. F. for disclosing the method of making and using the composition as above.

OF QUACK DOCTORS.

WHAT degree of knowledge can be reasonably allowed this kind of practitioners, when six or eight months are the extent of time devoted to physical studies? Without any other kind of knowledge, they turn over many valuable volumes, written by the ablest pens—and in the course of their perusal, acquire a number of old Latin phrases, and hard technical terms, and then close their books forever.—Thus stored, in their opinion, with a fund of useful knowledge, they commence man-slayers. Well might such men

wear swords by their sides, to show they have a commission to kill. Alexander was a celebrated warrior, who, through his martial spirit, shed rivers of human blood. In like manner, quack doctors, through their ignorance of the force of medicine, and of its operative effects upon the constitution, are no less distinguished for manslaughter.

[The approaching election of representatives in congress, and of electors of the president and vice-president, having excited the attention of the citizens of Philadelphia, three parties have been formed on the subject—one desirous of the appointment of congresses from all parts of the state to meet at Lancaster, and fix on suitable persons to be recommended to the choice of the citizens—another in favour of taking the sentiments of the citizens by the means of committees of correspondence—and the third against both these modes, and contending that every man in the state ought to be allowed to form his own ticket, unbiassed and uninfluenced. The following are some of the best essays on the subject.]

To the farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and mechanics of Pennsylvania.

AT the present crisis, my fellow-citizens, when your dearest interests demand such an agreement in political opinion, as may insure weight and efficacy to the federal suffrage, at the approaching election, silence on the situation of our public affairs, would be treason against your individual happiness and the general prosperity of our common country.

It is the interest, and it becomes the duty, of every good citizen, who is in possession of political information, which he deems interesting to the public welfare, to disclose it. The obligation becomes more incumbent, when doctrines, which in their tendency must infallibly prove destructive of the eminent advantages, that have been derived to the American people from their general government, are unblushingly avowed, by men who have been uniformly and unceasingly opposed to the federal constitution, and, in some instances, to the laws enacted under its authority.

To accomplish by stratagem, what they have failed to effect by avowed opposition—to deceive, that they may destroy, is now the endeavour of those men, whose undeviating policy has been to subvert the beautiful and well-proportioned fabric of our confederacy, and to erect on its ruins a wretched and disjointed system, where unprincipled demagogues might administer the despotism of internal anarchy, while the scourge of war and external violence filled up the measure of those calamities, which a dereliction of their dearest interests had drawn upon a deluded people.

To this end, and with this express view, an attempt is made to defeat the measure (heretofore happily practised by the citizens of Pennsylvania) of securing, by a previous conference, such an unanimity of suffrage among the electors in the several counties and in the city, as would return to the house of representatives of the united states, men whose attachment to the federal constitution, whose concern in the national prosperity, and whose knowledge of its best interests, should qualify them to administer that govern-

ment, whose measures have raised the united states to a degree of consideration and felicity unequalled in the annals of mankind.

And shall this insidious attempt prevail? Shall the supineness of Pennsylvania (for supineness alone it must be) suffer a wrong of this magnitude to be wrought against her, and, through her, against the union?

Has the *farmer* ceased to contrast the high price in cash, and the ready sale of his crops, since the establishment of the federal government, with the difficulties and delays of preceding years?—Does the *merchant* behold with indifference the protection afforded to commerce, and the credit, which confidence in our national government has diffused throughout the world, in behalf of our citizens?

Has the *manufacturer* already forgotten the advantages which protecting duties give to his labour, and the rewards which the introduction of wealth into our country, has enabled his fellow-citizens to confer upon his toil?

Is a suspension of employment required, to remind the *mechanic* of his situation antecedent to the adoption of the general government? Will the *patriot-citizen* thus part with the price of his blood and treasure? Is it of absolute necessity, to awaken the remembrance of our distresses in all classes of citizens, that the load of direct taxes, under which we have groaned, should be replaced? Are we already satiated with civil and religious happiness? Must Anarchy resume his reign, to convince us of the blessings of order? And shall the angel of peace, who presides over our happiness, resign his station to the demon of discord? Forbid it, wisdom! forbid it, freedom! individual and national felicity, forbid it!

Rouse then, my fellow-citizens, from this political lethargy. The enemies of your best interests are broad awake to the advantages which your slumbering security affords them; and they are prepared to improve them. Like the force of a spring, they are silently pressing upon those resistances, which formerly defeated their machinations. Their measures are privately taken, and antifederalism anticipates their success—nor without reason—since extreme exertion on the one part, and extreme apathy on the other, may leave the dearest interests of Pennsylvania and of the united states, at the disposal of some men, whose existence, physical and political, in a great measure depends on what they may be able to acquire, in a struggle for power.

The federal citizens of Pennsylvania form the great majority. It is only necessary that they should act, to remove every apprehension for their own and the general safety: and in acting, theirs will be the distinguished honour to have secured the political happiness of their country.

A PENNSYLVANIAN.

Philadelphia, July 30, 1792.

C O N F E R E E S.

I HAVE received much amusement in the two last town-meetings. It is pleasing to observe the freedom of debate, and the ingenious subjects of argument. There is one thing, however, that I am not quite satisfied with: the speakers on both sides seem to have kept the true point out of the view of the people, and argued

on imaginary topics. One gentleman tells us that the back counties are leagued together in a solid column to bear down the city of Philadelphia. Another, that the antifederalists are all in arms, to destroy the constitution; and that, for these reasons, we must have a conference.

I humbly submit it to the consideration of the gentlemen orators, whether these be, at bottom, the very reasons? and whether they have not omitted the best reasons which can be given for a conference? And having just hinted this matter, I hope they will candidly and fully explain it; as I am sure the citizens of Philadelphia are too reasonable, and value too much their interest, any longer to oppose a thing so much to their own ease and benefit.

We all know, how few there are that *think*, and how difficult even to those who have acquired a habit of thinking, is the exercise of it. To those, therefore, whose occupations in life lead them rather to action than reflexion, it must save a world of pains to get persons to think for them. This is like the division of labour in arts and manufactures: things are much better done, when each man takes his natural part, and minds that only. What a poor figure a shoemaker cuts, who quits his last to cobble the state! The tailor must find himself very ill suited, when, instead of cutting for his customers, he falls to shape the form of the government. Abstract and political points are not at all fit to be touched by mechanical hands. They ought to be left to men of fortune, who have nothing else to do, and have leisure to mind them, or to great lawyers, whose trade it is to study the constitution and principles of government.

Six or eight men are fully enough to think for all this city: and business is always conducted best by a few heads; let them be only good ones. Does not every body know that despotism, in the hands of a good prince, is the best of all possible governments?

Leave this troublesome business of making a ticket to conferees. They will take a great weight of thought and conscience off the minds of the people. They can spare time to watch the interest of the state, while we are minding our trades: we shall have nothing to do but give in the ticket ready made to our hands. If it be a good one, we have saved much expense of time and thought: if it be a bad one, our consciences are clear; for we have trusted to men fitter to judge than ourselves; and if they have done ill, the sin lies at their door.

I am therefore clear for conferees; and am at a loss which most to admire, the complaisant condescension of the worthy gentlemen, who so generously offer to labour for our service and relief, or the stubborn blindness of my fellow-citizens, in hesitating a moment in accepting their favour.

A MECHANIC.

Philadelphia, July 30.

FURTHER REMARKS ON CONFEREES.

FELLOW-CITIZENS, the present moment is important, and seems to have involved in it consequences, which, perhaps, we do not anticipate. You are to decide whether you will exercise a free and unbiassed judgment at the ensuing election for federal representatives, or whether a confederation of leaders shall deter-

mine your most momentous concerns. We are the creatures of habit, and therefore of precedent, and we ought seriously and deliberately to examine a principle which the force of custom may make difficult to amend, or abolish. The question before you is, in my opinion, of the simplest kind: it is, whether you will judge for yourselves, or allow others to judge for you! A congregation of men to frame a ticket, sanctioned by you, is in fact a body of electors, clothed with your authority. Are you incapable of judging for yourselves, that you must hazard a transfer of your most important rights? Is the essential right of suffrage so laborious to you, that you wish the Herculean task transmitted to a few? If you confess yourselves too ignorant or too indolent, to exercise your minds on this subject, what a misfortune that you did not apply a constitutional remedy for this evil, at the organization of your government! Mighty as is the task, you would have found many who would, cheerfully, have saved you the trouble.

Would you be willing to transfer the right of managing your fortunes to other hands? Every citizen has a fee simple in government; and he is less at liberty to transfer or bargain for his fee, than he is at liberty to trifle with his estate, or squander it away to the prejudice of his children; for industry may make amends for the want of patrimony, but nothing short of a civil convulsion can restore departed rights. As long as we have laws, we shall have a tribunal to resort to against injustice; but where is the tribunal that shall restore your lost privileges?

Be not deceived by the cry of antifederalism; it is a hacknied sound, calculated to delude and alarm you. Men and not measures are the object: and to make *some men* members of congress, who probably without some deep address would never be approved by the people, you are courted by the flattering names of *farmers, traders, manufacturers, and mechanics*. Why this discrimination? are these different degrees of citizenship? The title of citizen applies to every free man; it is his birth-right; and let his avocation in life be whatever it may, *he ought to assert his right, and glory in the character of citizen*—men who are thus fond of discrimination, are equally fond of debasing the characters, which they wish to use as ladders to ascend to political eminence. If we have any thing to dread, it is the efforts of such men to hurry us on to the most detestable of all tyrannies, the tyranny of aristocracy.

The level is thought too great in this country—it is harsh and unpleasant to some of our *fancied great men*, to be saluted by the same title, that every *vulgar creature* is constitutionally entitled to. What, shall the mechanic, shall the labourer, have equal weight in the political scale with the man who is worth a thousand or more pounds a year! This is the rub—and to obviate this, you are to delegate the right and the power of judging for yourselves, to those who are more capable and more deserving.

We want no *ticket-mongers*: let every citizen exercise his own judgment, and we shall have a good representation: intrigue, favoritism, cabal, and party will then be at rest. A free and unbiassed choice will do more credit to Pennsylvania—will give her more consequence in the union, and will throw a greater share of real abilities and worth into her scale, than all the contrivances of a conference.

S I D N E Y.

On the appointment of conferees and correspondents for the forming a ticket for members of congress, &c. By H. H. Brackenridge.

IT is the happiness of a free government, that every one may speak his mind : which, if he did not do, he might forget sometimes that he had the privilege. Finding a public question agitated at this time, I shall say what I think, if for no other reason, at least to show that I do think, and have an opinion on the subject : it is that of the appointment of conferees and correspondents, for the forming a ticket for members of congress, &c.

To such appointment I am opposed ; because at no city, town, town, district, or village meeting, on a partial or short notice, which must be the case, by persons assuming an authority to call a meeting, where no system has been previously laid down, or can be hastily adopted, to secure a fair appointment, a few tumultuously attending, forward and noisy men haranguing, the chairman proposing, or some one bringing forward a ticket, which the bulk do not choose, on principles of delicacy, to oppose ; I say at no such meeting, and all town or district meetings will be such, can an appointment take place which will justly represent the people. Or even if the whole of the citizens should assemble, a thing not to be expected, and ballots be fairly taken, so that those appointed were really the choice of the town or district, is it certain that the choice of those at the conference, would be the choice which the people would otherwise have made ? because the persons that go forward will have attachments and resentments, interests and partialities, hopes and fears, which those at home know nothing of ; but which will be fully exercised when they come to form a ticket, and it will be easy for them, when they come back, to frame an apology for the choice made, if not agreeable, by saying, *they were the only names that would go down with the conferees of other districts*. The fact is, that envy or jealousy of equal or superior abilities will unavoidably operate at any such conference to preclude men of merit. Such a conference may be justly styled a junto or cabal ; and I never found truth, honour, justice, or generosity, with such yet. It is the circumstance that makes men act and be what they are ; and it is a good request " lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." I judge from my own feelings ; and know that were I at a conference at this moment, there are those whom I would oppose, just because I do not like them. They have injured or insulted me, and I hate them : though the people that sent me, know nothing of it, and have no suspicion, but that I would make the same choice, that they themselves would make. If all men would speak the truth, they would say that the case with them would be the same. The people, therefore, at the town or district meeting, put themselves in the power of the passions of the conferees, and do injustice to those persons whom they would otherwise have chosen.

A ticket once put up is not easily taken down ; and therefore the act of the conferees will unavoidably have an influence, though it deserved to have none ; because, though the citizens might never have thought of proposing, yet they may be unwilling to oppose the names brought forward, and the bare annunciation is an advantage, which the names in the ticket have in their favour ; so that

it may be hopeless to oppose, and to bring forward others in the face of this advantage.

The appointment of conferees, therefore, becomes, on these principles, an invasion of the right of the citizens at large, to think, judge, and act for themselves, in the first instance. It is a fraud by one neighbour on another, the choice being brought forward by a machinery of choosing, in which one may acquiesce, and another not. Leave it to every man to frame his ticket, or be immediately instructed by others how to do it; but let it be his own act, and there is no deception or injustice.

But more especially the appointment of conferees, becomes an invasion of the rights of those who are or may be candidates, being a forestalling of the public choice; a pre-occupying the minds of the people, and not leaving it on the broad basis of a general and unbiassed vote.

I shall be asked, then, by what means, on the present principle of state election, shall the electors in the different districts fix upon names for the purpose of a ticket? They may choose for themselves with respect to a member or two from their own quarter; but how for members for other quarters of the state? The method is natural, simple, and easy. There are gazettes in this city; there is a gazette in almost every town or village through the state. Let any man, who offers his service to the public, announce his name in these, as is done every day in Virginia, Maryland, and other places; or let some one, who knows his abilities and inclination, announce it for him; and of those announced let the people take their choice.

As to correspondents, I have the same objection to such committees as those of conferees. It is not always that they judge well with whom to correspond; especially when the distance is considerable. I have seen papers in the western country addressed to persons, and myself among the rest, some of which associates I disdained, knowing them to have just about as much interest in our politics, as a brindled cow, and no more. I could not conceive, how in the name of God, they had ever heard of them; and I mention this to show how little, even the most intelligent men at a distance know whom to consult, and on whom to depend for influence or information; the fact is, they are in the power of persons who may have a temporary life, and come forward in affairs, and have relations or supporters, that have consequence with them, but with no one else.

In the business of elections, it is my wish, that the light of knowledge with respect to men and characters may shine naturally and equally; and though, like the sun, it may be clouded or obscured in places by shade of trees, or accident of wind and weather; yet the chance is much more in favour of real merit, than from any adventitious help of lenses, by which mathematicians might attempt to increase the sun's rays, or direct them where they are not. Were it, in nature, to be left to them, we should not have an equal sun; and taking their passions into view, some would have all day, and others all night. I would scarcely trust David Rittenhouse himself, with such a glass, though the best man in the united states; but I would rather leave it to the sun, who, as far as I can recollect, has for several thousand years past, given heat to all alike; and the

plant in the wilderness has an opportunity of growing as well as that in the gardens of the botanists.

I feel myself interested on this question; not that I have any object at present of being a member of congress, or elector of presidents; but the day may come when I may; and I would not wish myself precluded by any system that may be now adopted, and become the custom, which I do not think will be favourable to me or any one who thinks more of the public opinion, than of that of particular persons.

July 30, 1792.

EXCLUSION OF THE CLERGY FROM CIVIL OFFICES.

THE question, relating to a constitutional exclusion of the ministers of religion from civil offices, is a very serious one, as it affects a respectable and venerable order of citizens, and still more important, as it involves certain fundamental principles of government.

The American constitutions have taken different sides of the question; even those of latest date, and therefore the result of fullest and clearest information, are in opposition to each other thereupon. Those who argue for the disqualification of the clergy, say, 1st. That religious duties afford sufficient employment, and are of a nature not to assort with the bustle of political scenes; and therefore the ministers of the altar should not only live by the altar, but remain at the altar. 2dly, that if eligible to public offices, their influence over the people will give them an undue advantage over other candidates, and, by degrees, throw all power into their hands, which would be neither prudent nor safe. 3dly, that when they enjoy particular emoluments or exemptions under the law, it is but right and just, that these should be balanced by particular legal disqualifications and disadvantages; otherwise this class of citizens would not be on a level with the rest. Now the first argument cannot be allowed the least weight in the question. It may be very proper for the consideration both of the pastor and the flock, but is a matter to be decided by them alone. The second argument falls under a similar observation. If the people are pleased to send the man who instructs them in their religious duties, to manage their other concerns also, and he is willing to undertake the service, on what principle can either be disfranchised of their common right? on no principle whatever, that would not authorise a like disqualification of any other profession, or calling in life, till the right of choosing and being chosen should be narrowed down to a rank aristocracy. The third argument has weight; but instead of being turned against the right of such disqualifications, it lies against the wrong of such exemptions. Those who enjoy peculiar privileges under the law, may fairly be subjected by the law to peculiar disabilities.— And as it would be an injury to them, to impose the latter without the former; so, to grant them the former, without the latter, would be equally an injury to all others. When it is considered that religion is not an object of political regulation, and that the rights of conscience are, from the nature thereof, as well as by most of the declarations of rights, excepted out of the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, too much care cannot be taken to keep government and religion separate and distinct. And it seems not to have been duly considered,

by the constitutions which impose these civil disqualifications, and which probably did not mean to violate their principle of religious liberty, that they pave the way therefor as much by beginning with the disqualifications, as if they had begun on the other side with particular favours and exemptions. For there is the same interference of the civil power on account of religion in the one case as in the other; and on which ever side the government interferes, its interference on the other side follows of course. Justice pleads for it. Privileges authorise disabilities; and disabilities lead to privileges; till at length, the ministers of religion are established into a political order in the state, the magistrate is clothed with complete jurisdiction over it; and religion is turned into a mere engine of civil government. Let the ministers of religion, then, be considered by civil society merely as members of civil society. Let them claim no privilege not common to all other citizens; and let other citizens impose no burden whatever, not common to themselves. This is the only just and safe way in which this question can be decided.

Philadelphia, August 8, 1792.

Observations on the present state of landed property in America.

[Recently published in London.]

THERE exists at the present crisis the means of employing money to greater advantage, and upon principles (when facts are known) more obviously secure, than has occurred at any former period in any country in the world.

It is by the purchase of lands in America. Speculations of this sort have not generally attracted the notice of monied men; particularly in Great Britain, for the following obvious reasons.

First, Certain prejudices have existed, and do still exist, against the American people, the American government, and consequently against every species of property in that country.

Secondly, The distance from Europe is so great, and the means of obtaining good and accurate information has been supposed to be so deficient, that a general distrust has prevailed. It is, however, owing to these prejudices, and to this distrust, that these immense advantages are to be obtained; because they are only accessible to those individuals whose minds are capable of discriminating facts through the gloom of prejudice, and whose pecuniary resources are equal in all respects to the object of seizing the advantages which the particular state of America now offers. The facts are these following: and they are so well authenticated and ascertained, as not to admit even of the shadow of a doubt.

First, That the new government of America is not only firmly established, but that it has given the utmost energy and effect to every thing that can beget confidence at home and abroad, while its public measures have greatly promoted the general prosperity of the country.

Secondly, That as a proof of this, the public funds have advanced in a ratio beyond all former examples, in any country in the world, in so short a time. A fund is established for the payment of the interest in specie, at the rate of six per cent. per annum; and

the creditors of the states are rendered secure in the existence of a surplus revenue, which must sink the capital in a much shorter time than can be conceived, in consequence of the unexampled rapid population of the country.

Thirdly, that the general expenditure of the government is regularly discharged, independent of the fund for paying the interest of the national debt, which interest is now paid regularly in specie, every quarter.

Fourthly, that in consequence of an accurate enumeration or census which has been made of the whole people of the united states, it appears that they have nearly doubled within the last twenty years, notwithstanding the war; for the returns they have made in the year 1791, prove that the whole inhabitants nearly amount to four millions of souls!

Fifthly, that it also appears, from accurate returns, made by the different officers of the customs to the secretary of the treasury in America, that the value of American exports amounted in one year and one month, ending in Sept. 1790, to 20,415,966 dollars, rating the said exports at their original cost, which, in sterling money, at 4 6d. to the dollar, amount to 4,093,592l. 7s.; an increase even more rapid than the population. It also appears, that nearly one half of the value of these exports were sent to the dominions of Great Britain.

Sixthly. That the most incontestible evidence now exists, that the government of America is as strong and efficient as any in Europe; that the laws under the new constitution are acquiring new energy every hour; that justice is impartially administered, and the executive power lodged in the hands of men who hold the first rank, in point of virtue and integrity, joined to great and acknowledged abilities. Under all these circumstances, not a doubt can be entertained of the most rapid rise in the population of America, and consequently of the value of the landed property in that country, which must keep pace with the funds, and with the general increase of the active capital, which will naturally arise from the progressive prosperity of the country, aided by the foreign speculations in the funds, and perhaps still more assisted by the operations and effects of the national bank lately established, which cannot fail to give a spring to human labour, in facilitating the increase of agriculture, and consequently of riches, in a country so full of resources. Independent of the vast population of America, which increases in geometrical proportion, the present state of the continent of Europe affords the most solid reason to conclude, that the emigrations from thence, which have been in progress for the last five years, will gradually increase more and more, and that, of course, in twenty years the united states must contain eight millions of people; in forty years, by the same rule, the number must advance to sixteen millions; and in sixty years, it is highly probable, that the population will increase to thirty millions; and so on, doubling every twenty years; for while there is room enough, and abundance of lands, in general far more fertile than those which have been heretofore occupied on the sea side, no check can be given to population. No person is jealous of another, because there is room enough for every body. And no man is afraid to marry, because there is a certain obvious resource for maintaining a family

comfortably, with moderate industry; and not only so, but also for providing for children very amply when they arrive at maturity, arising from the cheapness of land, and the vast produce of the soil, enabling the farmer to raise corn and cattle at a small expense, in comparison to what must be incurred in Europe. For these obvious reasons, America must advance in riches as population advances: and as the wealth of the country depends on the surplus produce of the soil, there appears at present, as far as human penetration can discover, a greater probability of that country enjoying an uninterrupted course of prosperity, than any country in the world—it is scarcely possible, in the nature of things, that it can retrograde. The progress of wealth may not be so rapid as in the great commercial countries in Europe, but it must be regular and sure; and various resources of the country which have yet scarcely been found out, will press forward as adventitious aids in rendering the revenue secure, and in reducing the taxes below what are paid in any country in the universe. Among these adventitious aids may be reckoned the ashes made from the timber cut down in clearing the lands, the sugar extracted from the juice of the maple tree, and the extensive distilleries of spirits, for the consumption of the country, from the surplus grain and fruits with which it abounds. Pot and pearl ashes have already become an immense article of productive commerce*; and a strong probability exists, that the maple sugar will also become an object of considerable advantage to the farmer, when population is more extended. It is made at a season which does not interfere with any agricultural pursuit, and it is not improbable, that the high price of this article will hold out sufficient encouragement to the northern American farmers, who have inexhaustible forests of these maple trees within their reach, to make this manufacture an object of their attention; and when once they get in a train of producing it, large quantities will be regularly brought to market. According to an estimate which has been founded on experiment, four stout men will produce about forty hundred weight of sugar from six weeks labour, during the months of February and March, before the tillage commences. The distillery is still a more obvious resource; as the consumption of spirits is immense, and must daily increase, as the means of producing it from surplus grain and fruits also increase.

But perhaps to a British subject, the most pleasing circumstance in this detail of facts, is, that these fertile back lands in America, by offering such advantages in the cultivation of the soil, will obviously divert the attention of the people from manufactures; for few men will choose to follow any handicraft employment, subjecting them to constant labour and confinement, who can occupy rich and productive lands for almost nothing, compared to the value of the same property in Europe. Considering the state of landed property in America, at the present crisis, and after a full investigation of the facts connected with this object, two circumstances will appear obvious, viz.

NOTE.

* Pot and pearl ashes exported in 1789 and 1790, in one year, amounted to £231,048 sterling.

First, that in no country in the world are the rights of land better secured than in America, or the titles so simply or so indisputably clear; nor is it possible, that greater protection can in general be extended to every species of property than now exists, and will prevail in a greater degree, as the system of government advances in energy and perfection.

Secondly, that in no country, comparatively speaking, are lands so cheap as they can be obtained at present in America, even by many hundred per cent. The reasons to be assigned for the very low price of lands, are, that the Americans themselves, till of late, have not had any active capital among them, and Europeans have not been accustomed to turn their attention to this object: where, therefore, there is no competition, and abundance of any article at market, it must of course sink under its value. This has been the case hitherto; but the time is fast approaching when it will be so no longer. An existing active capital will soon embrace this particular object, and an increase of people, rapidly advancing, will stamp a new and increased value on all unoccupied lands within 300 to 400 miles of the sea. The true criterion for ascertaining the probable value of this species of property, in time coming, is to mark the progress of population in the northern and middle states of America, and the obvious effects of this population in advancing the price; to look also to the future increase of America, and to form estimates from facts alone, of what may be expected as population advances.

The facts now offered in elucidation of this proposition, are the following; and they are incontestibly true, and to be relied upon as events that have actually occurred.

First, it has happened in the course of the last three years, that tracts of land in the back parts of New-York government, which had been sold in townships of six miles square, containing 23,040 acres, at 1s. sterling an acre, have been subdivided and sold in farms to settlers, from one-half, to one, two, three, four and five dollars an acre, according to the situation and quality of the soil: and the price is yearly advancing as the settlers increase.

Secondly, it has happened within the last three years, that lands 70 to 80 miles west of Albany, which sold for one dollar an acre, now bring, without any cultivation or improvement, two and three dollars; which lands would not have brought one shilling an acre seven years ago.

Thirdly, Upon the Mohawk river, west of Albany, lands, which, ten years ago, would not have brought more than from five to fifteen shillings an acre, now sell from three to ten pounds an acre; and this price, high as it is, is advancing with the increase of population in that part of America, which has been most rapid. From this statement of facts (which apply in general to every part of America in the progress of settlement) it appears evident, that inhabitants alone are necessary to enhance the value of landed property in those parts of the united states which are nearest the thick settled countries. It may, therefore, be necessary to enquire into the facts relative to the probability of people being found to purchase and cultivate those lands. In order to ascertain this, it will be proper to recur again to the fact already stated, relative

to the aggregate population of the united states, which is estimated at nearly four millions.

Of these four millions of people, it is supposed that at least one eightieth part, or about fifty thousand souls, must move back into the new lands every year, independent of emigrants from Europe, there not being room in the thick settled countries near the sea; and the lands being not only much less fertile, but also dearer than the new lands, the young people, who generally marry as soon as they are of age, have been in the regular practice of moving from 200 to 400 miles from the sea, where they become proprietors of land at a small price, and where the soil being much more fertile and productive, they soon get forward in the world, and become independent; and this plan having uniformly succeeded wherever it has been tried, the course of emigration has become regular and periodical; and for the last three years, the attention of the New England states has been principally directed to the back settlements in the state of New York.

In purchasing lands, therefore, in America, although little doubt can be entertained of a good soil being productive in time, in any situation, not exceedingly remote, yet the great advantages which are to be immediately derived must be from the purchase of lands particularly situated, and particularly circumstanced; where the soil is proved to be good by unquestionable evidence, and where the distance is so near thick population as to secure a quick and rapid settlement.

ON PUBLIC CREDIT.

THERE is no subject generally so fascinating to popular declaimers, as that of public credit, wherein they appear to include all possible description of national good: and doubtless it is a benefit for a nation, as it is for an individual, where either have contracted just debts, to have the easy means, as well as the disposition, to pay them. But there is this difference between the two cases; an individual considers his credit as concerned in the extinction of his debts; whereas nations usually place theirs in an ingenious minister's ability to provide for the interest of them—in the one case, a man is said to be in a state of sound credit, when he is clear of pressure; in the other, a nation is said to be rich, when it is subjected to perpetual and increasing burdens. If you say of a man, he is a man in good credit, you suppose him either out of debt, or competent and willing instantly to pay his debts, out of

NOTE.

* The following is an exact copy of the census last made of the people of the united states, by which is known the number inhabiting each state.

Georgia, 82,548; South Carolina, 250,000; North Carolina, 373,951; Kentucky, 73,677; Virginia, 747,610; Maryland, 319,728; Delaware, 59,094; Pennsylvania, 434,373; New Jersey, 184,139; New York, 340,120; Connecticut, 237,946; Rhode Island, 68,825; Massachusetts, 378,787; Maine, 96,540; New Hampshire, 141,885; Vermont, 85,539; Western territory, 40,000. Total inhabitants of the united states, 3,933,412.

his real or personal property ; if you say of a nation, that it is in good credit, as England, for instance, it is only meant, that the minister contrives to pay the interest, without ever dreaming of the principal.

It would seem, also, that an individual became in good credit, in proportion to the small amount of his debts, whereas a nation is in better credit, just in proportion to the largeness of them ; as in England, where the funds never were so high, as since they have become of an almost incredible magnitude.

The subject is new in this country ; and certainly merits, by its importance, the investigation of our ablest statesmen. A debt was contracted during the war, which became, by general neglect of it, so inconsiderable in value, as to be compared and called after those balloons, that have lately arisen to excite matter of speculative curiosity ; this debt, by a new order of things, has become restored to its pristine value ; and the public credit of the country has been proportionably applauded. Were this all, the prospect would be flattering and agreeable : but unfortunately we are every now and then told of new loans made in Holland, or of the bank : these are cited as proofs of public credit ; whereas, unless applied to pay off other debts, they ought rather to lessen the credit, in proportion as the sum owing is increased.

The truth is, public credit, as every other thing, has its good and its evil ; let it be our study to secure the one, and to avoid the other : the good of public credit consists, in the settled order it supposes of payment of the debts of the state, whereby its creditors are benefited ; but the evil consists, and a very formidable one it has proved in other countries, old in the science, that it administers to the officer at the head of the treasury, an easy facility to borrow. This is connected with a constant readiness in the government of a country to enter into any war or adventure, however absurd in itself, and destructive to the human race ; where the head of the treasury can easily obtain the necessary loans ; these again are never paid off, nor meant to be, but are only to be put on interest, and taxes imposed on the people in the most plausible and least obnoxious manner, to raise the sums necessary to pay that interest ; such has been the history of public credit in England, and such it will be here, unless guarded against, by a vigilance on the part of the people, almost beyond what it is to be expected they will exert.

In such a state of things, public credit means public taxes : the more debt, the more imposts—and unfortunately should there come into government, men, admirers of the system, fond of proving to their constituents the excellence of their credit, by the free use they make of it ; such men will be for war, because war of any kind creates debt, debt creates taxes, taxes create offices and officers, and so it goes on, till the poor are saddled, as in England, with unsupportable burdens, contributing to the enriching and aggrandizing only of a few ; hence, you will see in their papers on the one side, the queen ornamented at a ball, with a dress and jewels worth 100,000 guineas—and on the other, misery and wretchedness attending the common people, and reducing many of them to want the necessaries of life. In one part of the picture, you behold the splendor of opulence, existing in the castles of the no-

ble and the affluent—in the other, the wretched peasantry abandoning the country—here, a poet laureat singing his birth day ode, and there, a Goldsmith lamenting over his deserted village.

To conclude, while we applaud a sound state of public credit, let us build it only *on the payment of our debts*; for whatever our sophisters may say on the subject, we shall then best deserve credit, when we least solicit it.

R U S S E L.

Philadelphia, August 17, 1792.

SIDNEY'S REPLY TO RUSSEL.

THE writer of the foregoing essay, makes a number of judicious general reflexions, which are not undeserving the attention of the community, or of those charged with conducting its affairs. But speaking of the debt of this country—he says: “this debt, by a new order of things, has become restored to its pristine value, and the public credit of the country has been proportionably applauded. Were this all, the prospect would be *flattering and agreeable*; but, *unfortunately*, we are every now and then told of new loans made in Holland or of the bank; these are cited as proofs of public credit; whereas, unless applied to pay off other debts, they ought ather to lessen the credit, in proportion as the sum owing is increased.”

It might have been expected, from one apparently so well informed as Russell, that this epithet “*unfortunately*” would have been spared; for it is well known, that the sums borrowed in Holland, *are to pay off other debts*, part of them to re-imburse the monies borrowed in France, during the late war, and part of them to purchase in the domestic debt at its market values; and that the loans, which have been made of the bank, are merely temporary anticipations of actual revenues, which have been, and will be re-imburshed, as fast as, in the course of collection, those revenues are brought into the treasury. Such is the late loan for carrying on the war for the protection of our frontiers. Duties have been laid for raising the necessary sum; but as time was requisite for their collection, and the exigencies of the service pressed, an anticipation became inevitable. It is, however, a consolation, that an increase of the public debt has been avoided by an effectual provision for raising within a year the sum borrowed.

As to the loans made in Holland, 'tis obvious that they serve to diminish the debt. Money is obtained at about 4 1/4 per cent. including charges, to be applied either to pay off the debt due to France, which bears five per cent interest; or to purchase the domestic debt, at rates, which will still extinguish an equal or nearly equal interest, with the additional advantage of reducing the principal by giving for it from about 12/10 to 13/2 in the pound.

Is this matter of lamentation? Is it not in strict conformity with the proposition, with which Russell concludes his observations—namely, that we ought to build the public credit *on the payment of our debts*? Let candour and truth decide, whether the circumstances attending the loans, which have been alluded to, are not evidences of a disposition, in those who administer the government, to avoid an accumulation of new debt and to get honourably rid of the old.

When the loans which have been made, are cited as proofs of public credit, it is purely on account of the advantageous terms upon which they are made. And will it be said, that in this view, they are not proofs of public credit? Is it not an honourable proof of the pre-eminent state of the credit of this country, when it can borrow in Europe on better terms, than most of the long-established governments of that quarter of the globe? Is it not a pleasing proof of the same fact, that loans can be made at home, at the moderate interest of five per cent. to enable the government to fulfil its duty, by providing for the protection of its invaded frontiers?

Let any man, who does not see with a jaundiced eye, or who does not wilfully discolour what he sees, pronounce. SIDNEY.

ON THE INDIAN WAR.

THAT a prosperous state of credit is apt on nations, as on individuals, sometimes to work ill effects, by leading them into hazardous and unprofitable adventures, the subject we are considering, sufficiently evinces—before the restoration of the finances of the union, all was peace, or if it was disturbed by any temporary and fugitive alarms, they subsided, by the necessity of forbearance on the one side, or of moderation on the other: but no sooner was money plenty, than war follows on its heels; instead of cultivating peace every where, retrenching expenses, and paying off our debts, the country is, as it were, suddenly and by surprise, involved in a new war, and heavy expenditures—a war wholly unprofitable in its object, and hopeless as to its success: for what is the object of it? To extirpate the Indians, as it would be inhuman, so would it be without benefit to us: and as to compelling them to an honourable peace, little is to be expected from a treaty dictated by force on the one side, and necessity on the other—were any treaty capable of continuance with a wandering herd, subject to continual warfare, offensive or defensive, with the frontier settlers. It is hopeless as to its success; for what armaments can penetrate regions comparatively unknown, to pursue an enemy that flies as you advance, unless he sees a fair occasion to strike decisively in a country without resource for our troops in case of misfortune?

To have formed an effectual barrier on our borders, and limited our territorial possessions within their just bounds, would at once have kept both the settlers and Indians in awe, and would have ascertained the hitherto unknown limits of our pursuits; war might thus have been avoided, and the country have been left to pursue the pacific system, by which alone its public credit can be supported, and its debts be honourably extinguished—but then, how many offices had been wanting, how many lucrative contracts would have been lost, and how great a waste of money would have been prevented from flowing into the coffers of those concerned in this business?

If this war continues, it is easy to see, its expenditures will be growing, and it will prove a regular and constant drain upon the treasury, very little calculated to enhance its credit—to say nothing of the discouragement it affords to Europeans to come into this country engaged in a ruinous warfare; many of them are prevent-

ed by it from visiting us; our lands suffer in the sale, by being conceived to be the bone of contest; and the nations of the earth exclaim against the injustice of a people, unable to cultivate what ground they have, still panting after more.

Let it be the study, then, of the people in their elections, to choose those men to represent them, that may lay the axe at the root of this evil—men of such patriotism, independence, and disinterestedness, as, anxious above all things to secure their own rights, may be at the remotest distance from invading those of others. Thus the poor Indian may become safe in the hunting grounds allotted him—and the country enjoy a dignity, credit, and peace, proportionate to the wisdom and integrity of its views.

Philad: Aug. 24, 1792.

R U S S E L.

A brief comparison of the principal arguments in favour of public and private education. By Thomas Barnes, D. D. Concluded from page 32.

[From *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.*]

IV. SELF-GOVERNMENT.

BY this term is meant, “The habit which the friends of *public education* say a boy early forms, in a large school, of conducting himself, of managing his own concerns, and of preparing himself for a steady, independent, manly line of action in future life.” Such a school they describe as “a miniature of the great world.” And in this microcosm, “a boy is inured to make his own way, to stand upon his own merit, to exert his own understanding and address, to maintain his own cause and his own consequence, to fight his own battle, to vindicate his own wrong, and to depend upon his own conduct and character for the behaviour he meets with. In this society, it is said, all distinctions are levelled. The son of a nobleman appears as an equal to the son of a peasant. Insignificance, ill-temper, folly, selfishness, together with the common vices of children (the seeds of similar and stronger vices in men) are discountenanced and discouraged, when they are sure to meet with contempt and hatred. And here those public-spirited and manly virtues grow best, which only can secure the general honour and approbation.”

It is possible, that something must be deducted from this flattering representation. In these little republics, some active and bolder spirits, distinguished, probably, for strength and daring, rather than for morals or literary excellence, gain an ascendancy over the rest. The other boys act under them in servile submission to their mandate, carry their burdens, fight their battles, and avenge their quarrels. Hence are learnt habits of fawning and servility. Obedience must be unreserved, under penalty of severe chastisement for rebellion. To crouch, in order to obtain the good graces of one of these leaders of a clan, will probably be the policy of a younger and more timid boy. And he will obtain notice and protection, only by flattery, or submission the most humiliating. The consequence often is, that when he himself rises up to that degree of strength, which enables him to assert his own consequence, he practises all the arts assumed by his former tyrant. And thus a system of vassalage is handed down, from generation to generation. May it not be said, that all this is as likely to produce abjectness of mind as independence—and turbulence, as proper subordination?

V. M O R A L S.

The greatest object of education is, undoubtedly, to inspire the love of goodness. But here the argument seems very greatly to preponderate against the plan of public schools. And yet to this point, as to the all-animating centre, should every thing else be directed, and by its tendency to this, should every scheme be estimated. It would be a dreadful bargain, to give up morals for learning, or for any other accomplishment.*

It cannot be denied that there is certainly far greater danger of moral infection in a larger, than in a smaller number of boys. A single boy may corrupt many, and disseminate a poison of the most rank and baneful influence. It is impossible, where the numbers are so large, to give that minute and watchful attention to the discipline of the passions, and to the formation of the heart, which is so unspeakably necessary in a good education. Boys of a depraved turn of mind, have often an unlucky kind of wit, a something in their manner, which enables them to do irreparable mischief.

It is acknowledged by a very ingenious and able advocate for public schools†, that the argument from morals lies undeniably against them. But this effect he ascribes—to the neglect of education at home, before they come to school—and to the general dissipation of the age, to which even schools themselves, which ought to be the nurseries of better principles and better manners, too frequently accommodate themselves.

If the fact be granted, that morals are in greater danger in a public, than a private school, this will be with many parents a conclusive argument. Boys too soon, too easily receive the alarming contagion. And, when it is once received, it contaminates the whole mass of the soul, and spreads its deadly poison through every future stage of life.

It is, however, contended, “That boys, immured within the precincts of a private family, are often but ill prepared to stand the shock of future temptation; that they frequently rush from the extreme of confinement to the extreme of dissipation or dissoluteness; and thus atone for former restraint, by future extravagance.”

This may have been the case, where the confinement has been impolitic, or excessive. But, as this is not necessarily attendant upon the private plan, it cannot be admitted as an universal argument against it.

It is to be regretted, that schools in general, of almost every description, pay so little attention to the culture of the heart; though this is, in comparison with all others, an object so infinitely superior, that no embellishments of science, no advantages whatever, of any other kind, deserve a moment's regard without it.

And it is perhaps equally to be regretted, that so few parents are proper to have the sole direction and management of their own children.‡

NOTES.

* “Nos liberalibus studiis et disciplinis filios erudimus: non quia virtutem dare possunt; sed quia animum ad accipiendam virtutem præparant.” Cic.

† Knox.

‡ The saying of Philip, upon the birth of his son Alexander, says

It is far more easy to form the theoretic idea of a school, which you might call, "*The school of virtue and of science*," than to realize it in action. And yet I fear, that many parents would not approve of even this school, if it were not likewise, "*The school of showy accomplishments*," which, with many, are of far greater moment, than virtuous excellence.

The *middle plan*, which we have already mentioned, seems calculated to blend, in some degree, the advantages, and to divide the disadvantages of both the others. By enlarging a private school, so as more nearly to approach a public one, you secure every desirable advantage for emulation. And, by having no more than can be under the continual inspection and management of the master, you provide for that particular and constant attention to every individual, which is absolutely necessary to his best improvement.

But upon every plan, the whole will depend upon the ability, the industry, and, I may add, particularly, upon the manner of the master. The advantages of the best plan may be lost by incapacity and negligence. And even the worst may have a temporary brilliancy, from the superior talents and attention of him who conducts it.

The noblest authority is that of love, mingled with reverence. Let us imagine, connected with real abilities, that indescribably happy manner which we have already mentioned, but cannot explain. There will probably be an easy and willing empire, over pleased and unsuspicious subjects. It will be an empire over the heart. Their subjection will be cheerfully paid to one in whom they see powers in their eye so amazing, connected with a temper so amiable, with manners so awfully engaging, with affections so sincere, and with a treatment so generous, manly, and consistent.

But if we recollect a moment the exceedingly difficult points to which education should be directed, we shall perhaps rather wish, than expect, to see any scheme in which they may be all accomplished. To keep up the continual impression of reverence, without intimidating—to restrain the spirits, without depressing them—to inspire courage, without turbulence—vivacity, without forwardness—and diffidence, without dejection—to administer praise, without puffing up—correction, without exasperating—and steady discipline, without enfeebling the mind in its best energies. These are some of the grand objects of education.

Who, that considers the difficulties of this work—the various dispositions, capacities and nursery educations of boys—and the different tempers, views, and talents of parents and masters, will not be ready to make every candid allowance for imperfection? And yet, who, that considers its infinite importance, will not wish every possible imperfection to be done away?

And who will not be ready to exclaim with the philosopher,

"*Quid munus reipublicæ majus meliusve afferre possimus, quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem?*" Cicero.

NOTE.

a high compliment to the philosopher; but Aristotle himself could not command success. His pupil does not seem to have fully answered to his tutor's care.

"Non tam gaudeo, quod natus est mihi filius, quam quod tempore Aristotelis natus est, cui tradatur erudiendus."

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